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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Malluh on Talks Opposition, Concern for PLO

93AE0049A Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 3 Oct 92
p 12

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Rahim Malluh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, by Tawfiq 'Abid in Amman, 28 September: "We Are Not Trying to Form Alternative Organization or New Salvation Front"]

[Text] 'Abd-al-Rahim Malluh, a member of the PLO Executive Committee and a member of the Political Office of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], said, "We are concerned for the PLO. We are not trying to form a framework outside the PLO, nor damage its unity, nor damage its representation of the Palestinian people."

In an exclusive interview with AL-DUSTUR, Malluh said: "We are not on the verge of forming a new salvation front, as some imagine. The goal of coordination among the 10 Palestinian factions is to stand against the application of autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip because we consider it inappropriate for our national interests."

He went on to say: "The PFLP will resolutely stand against any manifestation of fighting, because resorting to this method of settling disputes is never permissible. If anyone wants to compete, the occupation stands before him. Let him express his rebellion against a specific political position by more operations and manifestations of action against the Zionist occupation."

Malluh pointed out that the meeting of the 10 factions was the start of a warning to parties participating in negotiations, concerning the possibility of developing dangers of negotiating over national unity and, then, the Palestinian issue.

The following is the text of the interview conducted in Amman on 28 September 1992, just before Malluh traveled to Tunis, carrying a message from PFLP Secretary General Dr. George Habash to Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat.

Our Goal Is Warning and Correction

[Abid] Frankly, what is behind forming a Palestinian bloc opposed to negotiations? Do you see the formation of an alternative liberation organization?

[Malluh] We cannot say that what has occurred was coordinated, but it is a first step, which has expressed itself in a political position vis-a-vis the defined and possible issue that autonomy will be imposed on the Palestinian people.

I can say that the meeting that brought together 10 Palestinian factions is a warning to the parties that are participating in the political process about the dangers of

this process for Palestinian national unity and, consequently, for the Palestinian issue in general.

We are concerned for the PLO and for its unity and all other forces. From our view as a popular front, we are directing this process and participating in it, not on the basis that it is a first step in forming a framework outside the PLO, nor as a danger to its unity and its representation of the Palestinian people, but rather, to maintain our rights and our just interest.

Start of Position Regarding PLO

[Abid] But, other parties say that you intend to form an alternative organization, and they interpret that as departure from national unity.

[Malluh] On the contrary, from our point of view, it is aimed at preserving the PLO and Palestinian goals. It is not targeted against PLO unity or its representation of our people. We believe that the dangers to the PLO are many, and, consequently, we are calling for the political meeting, or its start, to protect the PLO. We want parties that do not recognize the PLO to embrace the 10-point statement as a position vis-a-vis the PLO. It is true that it is not the position that we want, but it is the start of a position concerning the PLO.

Bringing Factions Together...a Strategy

[Abid] What is going on among the 10 factions, a strategy or only a tactic required by the course of negotiations with Israel?

[Malluh] The unity of all PLO factions—and unifying its forces—are common national denominators and goals that serve the Palestinian people's national interests. It is a strategy, not a tactic. Our efforts are aimed at reaching this goal, over which no Palestinian disagrees, particularly if we recognize that the PLO's slogan is national mobilization and unified strategy. The National Assembly and Palestinian leadership meetings have stipulated that.

However, because of subjective circumstances pertaining to certain factions, we have not succeeded in unifying positions. In the nature of things, this does not mean a lack of building bridges, interactive dialogue, and coordination with parties outside the PLO fold. The best example of this is that, in a meeting of Palestinian leaders last July, we made the decision to enter into dialogue with Hamas, and we welcomed its invitation to hold a broad-based Palestinian meeting.

I emphasize once again that we want to bring all Palestinian movements together in one framework, because we believe that that is one of the basic pillars to achieve our goals and maintain our unity at the same time.

We see no dangers. We must not look suspiciously at gathering opposition, except if it takes a truly divisive course. We don't doubt that mutual national interests are its framework and goal.

Joint Positions...Slogans of the Stage

[Abid] This coordination, will it be applied to the course of affairs in the occupied Palestinian nation, or will it be limited to issuing joint communiques?

[Malluh] We should remember that there are parties among these forces that have neither influence nor presence inside the occupied nation. Naturally, there will be no coordination with them, because they are not present—parties in Lebanon, Syria, or the occupied territory. Consequently, the present direction is to hold meetings or take joint positions in places of Palestinian presence.

Intifadah...Everyone's Weapon

[Abid] In your previous statement, you called for escalation of the intifadah. It was noted that everyone utters this slogan without working to apply it. What is your view?

[Malluh] I can say, objectively, that it is very unfortunate that the intifadah is suffering from serious and real difficulties. Some of them are outside our control as factions, PLO forces, or Palestinian leaders, but certain others pertain to the factions' own shadow.

The essence of the call to escalate the intifadah is the Palestinian national interest. Our masses demand that the struggle be escalated in various ways, and its direct manifestation, at this time, is the intifadah.

Therefore, what is needed from the people located inside the occupied nation and from social and political forces is to overcome the problems through maintaining, continuing, and escalating the intifadah because it is a weapon in the hands of everyone.

Those who wish to register observations, amend the political process, and bring about accomplishments in the negotiating process, are in need of strong factions. I believe that the intifadah and the struggle against the Israeli enemy is in the national interest for all parties and not just for the benefit of a specific party.

Withdrawal and Negotiation

[Abid] How can one accept the idea that opposition strengthens the position of the negotiating delegation? You call on it to withdraw and heap accusations on it.

[Malluh] Objectively, the struggle strengthens our delegation's negotiating position. Just because I call on it to withdraw does not mean that the intifadah must be stopped to serve the negotiating process.

I do not find it to be contradictory, when I call on the negotiating delegation to withdraw and, at the same time, to escalate the struggle, even if the struggle serves the negotiating process.

Military Coordination Exists

[Abid] Can we expect joint operations among the factions in the occupied nation against the Zionist foe, or are there only statements from outside?

[Malluh] We support a call for such operations, because we believe that struggle is the soundest way to achieve our national rights and attain independence by means of aggressive operations and the intifadah.

Recently, groups from al-Fahd al-Aswad, Fatah, al-Nasr al-Ahmar, and the PFLP carried out armed military operations against the Israeli Army and its private groups, despite a political dispute concerning the negotiations. This is one thing, and that is another.

Unionists at Home

[Abid] As long as there is military coordination between Fatah and the PFLP, why not political coordination between you two?

[Malluh] On the spot, that is, in the occupied nation, we must be united. You also know that we were at the apex of a political dispute in 1985-86. Despite the fact the PFLP was outside the PLO fold when the Palestinian camps in Lebanon were exposed to blockade and shelling, we were the first to call for field unity. We clearly stated that we could differ politically, and Palestinian factions do, in fact, differ politically, but there are issues that we cannot differ over. These are unity of our people and the struggle against occupation.

I want to say that unity, out in the field to counter the occupation, must be kept away from the tension of political disputes. It must not be touched, because it is a mutual national interest.

With regard to political coordination, we are a part of the political leadership, a part of the PLO. In a little while, I will leave for Tunis, carrying a message from Secretary General Dr. George Habash to President Yasir 'Arafat that, in essence, calls for a meeting to discuss all issues and matters that concern the national interests, despite any disputes.

We do not expect to end the disputes in one day or evening, because the issue is complex. The problems we face raise the possibility of these disputes, because we are factions that have ideological and political backgrounds. However, basically, dispute is not the regulator of our relations and our struggle. We must, within the framework of unity, search for ways to settle and manage our disputes.

'No,' to Drowning Fighters in Blood

[Abid] The vehemence of the dispute between Fatah and Hamas goes back to the emergence. Will you side with Hamas if the clash erupts again, in light of mutual coordination?

[Malluh] We will certainly stand against any manifestation of fighting and the one that began it, even if it were the PFLP itself, because it is never permissible to solve any political dispute, viewpoints, or any issue by drowning people and the fighters in blood. If anyone wants to compete, the occupation is right there before him. Let him express his rebellion against a political position by increasing operations and working against the occupation, not by disrupting national ranks.

I believe that the occupation gives us much experience. The Zionist movement has differed a great deal and has had considerable rivalries, but it has forbidden the use of weapons among itself. We must forbid the use of weapons under any circumstances. Let us hurt one another with words and accusations instead, despite the fact I am against the word accusation.

If disputes develop between Fatah and Hamas, we will stand against any of the two factions that begins to use arms or resorts to violence, despite our mutual relations. We will not remain in the shadow. We will play our usual role, which the national interests dictate.

We Will Not Allow Ourselves to be Exploited

[Abid] Some think that other factions, with the same fight with Fatah, would be supported by you. Will you comment on this view?

[Malluh] I will state clearly and bluntly: We will not allow the PFLP to be exploited on behalf of tactics or policies of one party or another that are apart from the Palestinian national interests or our political view of any issue.

Accordingly, in light of our previous, heated disputes with Fatah, we do not want to develop disputes between us. At the same time, we are more concerned than at any previous time, because it is critical and important to prevent the eruption of disputes that can be exploited by any side for its own interests. Our goal is to rally all of Palestine around its national interests.

[Abid] Some interpret recent statements as being to the effect that we are on the verge of a new salvation front. What do you say in this regard?

[Malluh] I can assure everyone that we are not about to form a new salvation front. We are for the PLO now more than ever before. We believe that one of the targets of the political process is the PLO, singling out and marginalizing its role, and separating the home front from abroad. All of this makes us work to maintain the PLO. Consequently, the PFLP will not embark on any action that seeks to damage the PLO as an entity, political representative, and caretaker of our struggles in the coming stage.

Negotiating Delegation

[Abid] Some accusations directed at you say that you are demanding the Palestinian delegation withdraw and that you are discrediting its representation of the PLO or the

Palestinian people. However, at the same time, you do not propose an alternative to negotiation.

[Malluh] First, we do not question the nationalism of any member of the negotiating delegation, because participating in the political process was a decision taken by the National Assembly at its recent session in Algiers. We registered our position against the negotiating process.

Our criticism was directed against the fact that the PLO, as a political representative and national framework, was barred from direct participation in the peace conference. We said that our specific choice was clear. It is to struggle on behalf of attaining the independent state and the goals set by the Palestinian National Assembly.

What happened was that one political trend in the PLO decided that the present path could be shortened. We do not question their intentions, but we say that this option or thesis or approach will not lead to the goal that is called for by its authors, with whom we differ and oppose.

We hope our brothers taking part in the political process will not crown their victims by signing results that damage Palestinian national interests.

We Are Not Against Negotiations

[Abid] By my question, I meant to learn the option available to you concerning negotiations and your perceptions in this regard.

[Malluh] We have a point of view, based on the fact that we must enter the political process in this way. We are not against negotiations in principle. However, when our position is against the status quo, we are not responsible for the result. Consequently, as an opponent, I am not the one to ask to search for options.

At the same time, I can tell you, take your decision as a participant in the negotiations, and I will put my hand in yours, so that, together, we can search for a way out of this dilemma. It should not be on a basis that you have entered the negotiations option, and I must follow you.

Negotiator on Future Economy, Training, PLO

93AE0077A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
3 Nov 92 p 11

[Interview with Dr. Bisharah Khadar, member of the Palestinian delegation to the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks, by 'Uqbah 'Ali al-Salih in Paris; date not given]

[Text] Dr. Bisharah Khadar, despite his obvious diplomatic capability, is participating in the Palestinian delegation to the multilateral talks on the Middle East as an economic expert and not as a politician, which makes dialogue with him a more precise and a more useful prospect. This is particularly true in view of his being director of a center for Arab studies and research at a Belgian university, and a distinguished academic and scientist. Dialogue with him runs smoothly and clearly.

Dr. Khadar has published 15 books about Palestine and the Arab world, most of which are in French. He is about to publish a new book about Europe and the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC]. He has an all-encompassing view of the numerous complex problems of the Middle East that enables him to project a scientific picture of the future of peace and regional economic development.

After the multilateral negotiations in Paris last week, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT had the following interview with Khadar:

[Al-Salih] Let us first talk about the multilateral negotiations, which to observers seemed distant from reality. How do you view these negotiations?

[Khadar] We should view this subject within its limitations. The multilateral talk in no way can advance without substantial progress being made in the bilateral talks. Apparently the seventh round of talks that was held in Washington and ended last week did not lead to any results, despite what the U.S. press said about them. With regard to the multilateral talks, they are governed by the fact that the Israeli occupation is continuing. On the other hand, prospects of the future are still at a deadlocked. Any of the proposed major projects, whether in the field of tourism, transportation, or communication, will not be implemented unless the peace process is completed, the situation eased, and stability prevails in the area. Practical, peaceful projects cannot be implemented in the Middle East without first implementing peace. However, the current round of the multilateral talks has yielded certain results, the most important of which was the Palestinian side realizing the importance of coming to the negotiations with an open mind in order to enable the other participants in the talks to get acquainted with the situation of the Palestinian people and the difficulties the Palestinian economy is encountering because of the Israeli's coercive measures. Another result was to seek to revitalize the Palestinian economy with the help of the Americans, Europeans, and Japanese and, naturally, the Arabs.

[Al-Salih] You spoke to the journalists about the "peace dividend." What, in economic terms, does the "peace dividend" mean to the Palestinians?

[Khadar] I have mentioned the term "peace dividend," or "peace economics," in the sense that I would like to carry out a study regarding this question, a study that would examine the potential and the expected effects of peace in the area on the Palestinian economy and on the economies of the countries of the area as well. These effects should be looked at from all aspects. For example, what will be the effect of peace on the tourist sector? I would expect the number of tourists to double, which would produce positive results for tourism in Palestine and, consequently, for the Palestinian economy, including construction, services, and employment. The same thing can be said about trade, technical, and

technological cooperation in the entire area. I believe that the area as a whole will benefit from peace in varying degrees.

[Al-Salih] What will the substance of the "peace dividend" be under autonomy, given the proposed solution being discussed most? Will, for example, tourists staying in Israeli hotels be allowed to visit Bethlehem?

[Khadar] I am not looking at the peace dividend only during the transitional period, because it is dependent upon the degree of the Palestinians' ability to manage their economy in full. This is not going to be possible in the transitional stage. I am thinking of the next stage, that is the independent Palestinian state within the framework of regional cooperation or the framework of federal or confederal union with the neighboring areas.

[Al-Salih] What will be the cost of no peace?

[Khadar] It is easy to make thorough studies of this subject. One of the basic costs of the lack of peace would be an outbreak of crises in every country, whether economic crises or crisis in public debts [as published], or businessmen declining or becoming afraid to invest. This is in addition to the exorbitant cost of arms, which annually would range between \$30 billion and \$40 billion—all of which would squander the Arab economies and potentials.

[Al-Salih] Many researchers say that, given the fact that the Arabs are "lagging behind," Israel—in peaceful circumstances—will dominate economically because it has technology, trained cadres, and a dynamic economic system. How do you view this matter?

[Khadar] This is a negative view that does not take into account the dynamic Arab economy in peaceful circumstances in the Arab world. At present, the Israeli economy seems to be the only one to benefit from the establishment of peace. But we should not forget that the Palestinian people constitutes the "Latin quarter" of the Arab world. In other words, the mobilization of the vast human and administrative resources, plus the availability of Palestinian and Arab capital, would enable the Palestinian people to play a major role in the region's economy. There is also potential for dynamic economic development in other countries, such as Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. I strongly believe that Israel might be the major beneficiary initially, but the Arabs have potentials that would enable them to match Israel's economy and even overtake it.

[Al-Salih] Are you not afraid of an Israeli economic hegemony?

[Khadar] I do not think that Israel will dominate the area's economy because the basic elements for economic development are available to the Arabs, but research and development should be promoted, cadres and workers should be trained, and capital should be properly invested.

[Al-Salih] Thousands of theories are floating in the Arab world, theories that say we should do this and that so that we will become the world's most advanced countries.

[Khadar] The political factor is involved here. We have many potentials that have not been mobilized because the state has not been able to mobilize them so they could serve an independent and lasting economy in the Arab world. Peace in itself will be a helping factor for economic prosperity, but this should be accompanied and coincide with other developments on the social level, such as the society participating in political decision-making. Therefore, the peace dividend is contingent upon democratic process and the state's openness toward the civic society.

[Al-Salih] How do you view the water problem in the Middle East?

[Khadar] It is one of the important subjects to which we will pay particular attention at the coming stage. There is the question of energy and water. And since there is a scarcity of water in the area, the problem should be discussed on a regional level so that every country will take its share of water without wasting it. A regional authority should be set up to study the matter and assume the responsibility of distributing it.

[Al-Salih] Will the water be shared according to population or to the cultivated area?

[Khadar] Of course, according to population, to farmed areas, and to cultivable areas, with each country according to its needs.

[Al-Salih] What are the concepts of water sharing in light of the Palestinian-Israeli relations.

[Khadar] There are no real concepts concerning this subject; there are speculations. For example, we cannot talk about sharing the waters of Jordan river without taking Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon into consideration. This is a regional matter that will be discussed later. We will not discuss it at this stage.

[Al-Salih] Does the Palestinian side have any studies, even if preliminary, regarding how you propose to share the water with the Israelis during the autonomy? What is the share you are demanding?

[Khadar] The Palestinian people are not asking for a share that does not belong to them in the first place. They are only demanding that Israel should cease stealing water from the occupied territories. Some 75 percent of the water resources in the occupied territories are exploited by Israel. The Israeli settler consumes 20 times the amount of water consumed by the Palestinian individual. This situation should not be allowed to continue. We will devote to this subject the attention it deserves, and it will be the subject of study in the coming months.

[Al-Salih] Under the autonomy, the autonomous authority will not have the power to issue a currency. Currency policy is the principal tool of any economic policy.

[Khadar] The assumption that peace will bring major and quick benefits for the Palestinian economy during the autonomy, and that it would counter balance the Israeli economy is rather an optimistic view. But I believe that in the post autonomy stage we can anticipate the Palestinian economy to flourish suddenly.

[Al-Salih] Wouldn't the question of issuing a currency be an obstacle for the autonomy authorities?

[Khadar] The conditions which the Israel will impose on the autonomy authorities and its jurisdictions will restrict the Palestinian economy which will be unable to flourish quickly. The restrictions would also hinder Palestinian decision-making. Of course, we will seek to overcome these obstacles during the negotiations so that the Palestinian economy could grow in conditions that are not so unjust, so that we can build the basis of this economy and to benefit from the post-autonomy conditions.

[Al-Salih] With regard to the question of issuing a currency, will such currency be linked to the Jordanian currency or the Israeli currency?

[Khadar] It is difficult to discuss now such a specific issue.

[Al-Salih] Doesn't the Palestinian side have any views on such issues? These are sensitive issues that cannot be discussed only when they are brought up.

[Khadar] There is no doubt that the autonomy will face major problems such as the question of issuing a currency, but I believe that it is too early to discuss this and the matter has not been studied precisely. I believe that it will remain on the "shelf" until the peace process is established in the area and the talks enter another stage. There are more important issues now.

[Al-Salih] Certainly there should at least be some general ideas.

[Khadar]
There is no doubt that this matter should be dealt with at another stage.

[Al-Salih] Most of the delegations that took part in the Paris talks submitted ideas about future projects. Did you have any projects to submit?

[Khadar] We have several projects. When the Palestinian paper is read, it can be seen that it is a precise paper that combines politics and economics and puts forward many proposals. The principal proposal is to vitalize the Palestinian economy, which is suffering because of the Israeli policies and legislation.

[Al-Salih] I mean that the Western mentality asks for specific projects. It is Israel and the West that come forward with such projects; it is as if the Arab side has no ideas or views of its own to submit.

[Khadar] The Palestinian delegation has discussed vitalizing the agricultural sector, developing the industrial sector, promoting training and services, and boosting the Palestinian economy in general. We did not speak about particular sectors, but we will benefit from the projects that have been submitted and that will have positive effect on the Palestinian economy, such as transportation, agriculture, and opening markets, which all will benefit the Palestinian economy.

[Al-Salih] But don't you have ideas about specific projects, about universities and about agricultural and industrial projects, as well as about services, such as building hotels and so on?

[Khadar] Our situation is quite different from that of Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. We are under occupation, and the occupying authorities resort to terrorist methods against the Palestinian economy that undermines its effectiveness. Therefore, our first concern is to free the Palestinian economy from Israel's hold.

[Al-Salih] Certainly, but all the projects that have been submitted, with the exception of the U.S. project, are concepts about the stage that follows peace, whether concerning roads, communications, tourism, and universities. Do you not have prospective projects for the stage that follows peace?

[Khadar] What we need at this time is to develop all the sectors, without exception. The number one project is to free the Palestinian economy from the Israel legislative interference. In our meetings with the European Community countries and others, we demand that pressure be put on Israel in order to curb its restrictions on the Palestinian economy.

[Al-Salih] The Palestinian side does not seem to have a clear view of what follows the establishment of peace with regard to issuing a currency, water, and development projects. Do you not have economic views assuming that the peaceful solution succeeds?

[Khadar] We should not imagine that the Palestinian preparation for peace talks is a haphazard affair. Serious scientific preparations are being made in which scientifically capable people and the Palestinian leaders concerned are taking part. Extensive studies are being made by several committees, each of which is concerned with a particular sector.

[Al-Salih] But we have seen nothing of these committees' work.

[Khadar] So far we have not submitted specific project. Under current circumstances, we are primarily concerned with looking at the Palestinian economy as a whole and at lifting the Israeli restrictions.

[Al-Salih] The projects that were submitted during the recent round of talks are regional. Have the stands of the Arab countries participating in the negotiations been coordinated?

[Khadar] Yes, a meeting was held by Arab delegations from the Middle East and agreement has been reached on certain subjects. It must be said that generally this session is not a negotiations session in the true sense of the word. It was a session for expressing views and submitting proposals and concepts by all the delegations. Certain sides submitted proposals that can be implemented quickly at a reasonable cost. There were many proposals that cannot be implemented during the transitional period. Of course, the U.S. proposal on training cadres was welcomed by the Palestinian delegation because it can be implemented immediately, but with certain conditions. First, this project should help develop the Palestinian cadres that will be entrusted with the autonomy on the political, economic, administrative, scientific, and academic fields. There is also the question of relations between Palestine and the European Community and other countries. When this project is implemented it should not be restricted to the United States. Rather, other countries should participate in it, including the Arab countries that have experience in this field and which can contribute positively. Other projects have been submitted but they cannot be implemented immediately; they are expensive projects and need extensive studies. They call for action by many countries in order to mobilize the necessary resources for them. The Palestinian objection to the proposal submitted by Japan is that: How can the doors be open to foreign tourist; how can we open the borders for them and give them all facilities, when the borders are closed in the face of Palestinians and the brother Arabs? Despite the importance of this project for the future it cannot be implemented in the present circumstances.

[Al-Salih] Let us go back once again to the question of "peace dividend." Will it mean the same thing for the Palestinians inside the occupied territories as for those outside?

[Khadar] There is no doubt that the Palestinians in the occupied territories will be the first to benefit from the peace process. First, we will see a tremendous development in the building sector. This requires building materials and services. It will lead to the employment of the massive Palestinian labor force in the occupied territories that cannot find jobs. Secondly, we will see a major development in the tourism, in both the cultural and religious touristic sectors, since the Middle East is known as "the open-air museum." Thirdly, there will be an important development in the volume of investment in the Palestinian economy. On the other hand, we will see a great inflation in the prices of land and property because of the return of a large number of Palestinians.

[Al-Salih] What is the "dividend" for the Palestinians abroad?

[Khadar] There is no doubt that the Palestinians of the bourgeoisie class that has settled in abroad will benefit from peace because it will hasten to mobilize its resources in order to invest in the occupied territories. We felt last year that the price of land doubled and trebled simply because we have entered the peace process. So you can imagine what will happen if we become sure that the peace process is progressing toward a permanent solution. I believe that the growth rate will range between 7 and 12 percent in the first five years and could reach 15 percent when the peace process is completed. But, on the other hand, inflation could rise to 4 or 6 percent, which would detract from the importance of growth.

[Al-Salih] In the autonomy the Palestinian economy will be captive of its economic relations with Jordan and Israel. How can this problem be solved.

[Khadar] You can see the Palestinian economy becoming captive of the economies of the more advanced countries, you can also look at the Palestinian economy as a party to a trilateral or quadrilateral equation in which the Palestinian economy is likely to play a significant role in the field of services and agricultural products that will compete with the Israeli products. On the other hand, industrial production will increase many folds if the peace process is completed, in which case the Palestinian economy will not be a hostage but rather a party to the regional equation.

[Al-Salih] It is often said in Europe that the PLO is one of the world's biggest investors, while no sufficient investments are being made in the occupied territories. Why?

[Khadar] Rumors of this kind are rife in the international press. I do not think that the PLO has billions invested abroad, though there are Palestinian investors who help the PLO when it is in need.

[Al-Salih] It is being said that they invest at the PLO's expense.

[Khadar] They invest at their own expense. In fact, the PLO is currently suffering from a financial crisis, and I do not think that it has the resources for major investments in the occupied territories. It never hesitates to invest as much as it can.

[Al-Salih] How did you view Syria's absence from the negotiations session?

[Khadar] We were saddened by the absence of Syria and Lebanon. When one of the delegations asked the Palestinian delegation if it condemns "such absence," the Palestinian delegation said "We do not condemn such absence; indeed we understand the absence of Syria and Lebanon. This should not stop us from hoping that Syria and Lebanon will attend the later round of the multilateral talks."

[Al-Salih] Doesn't the present rift in the Palestinian rank weaken the Palestinian negotiators' position?

[Khadar] Nobody has spoken about this subject, and I am not a Palestinian politician or diplomat. I am an economic researcher.

[Al-Salih] What is your personal feeling?

[Khadar] The longer the negotiations drag, the more the Palestinian public loses patience, which strengthens the parties hostile to the peace process. I am afraid that one of Israel's goals is to obstruct this process through procrastination in order to create a rift in the Palestinian ranks. Therefore, the element of time plays an important role. We live under occupation; our economy is in shambles, and time is not in our side. Therefore, the peace process should bear fruit quickly.

[Al-Salih] What was your answer to the report that the World Bank submitted to the Paris conference (this dialogue took place before the announcement that the bank has been asked to submit a new report focusing on the Palestinian economy)?

[Khadar] The Bank submitted a 25-page report and six tables that we read carefully. We were greatly saddened that the World Bank failed to mention even once the name of the Palestinian people or the phrase "occupied territories" in this large number of pages. We were even more dismayed when we realized that the bank's attitude did not change between one session and the next. We said we are prepared to cooperate with the World Bank provided that it will deal with the Palestinian people as a people and mention it in its reports and study the economies of the occupied territories so that it may play an effective role in the multilateral negotiations. The report it submitted is unacceptable and the bank's excuse that it deals only with accepted countries. The Palestine problem is a crucial and basic problem, so the bank should take interest in the Palestinian economy, otherwise it will not be able to play its role in regional cooperation, the question we have been discussing.

[Al-Salih] Obviously the reunification of Germany has shifted Europe's center of gravity northward and its interests eastward. You have made several studies of Europe's relations with the Middle East. How do you view these relations in light of the new conditions?

[Khadar] The collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany has changed the centers of power in Europe. The idea of preparing a number of studies about Europe's relations with the Arab world stems from this situation. I recently published a book in French about Europe's relations with the Arab Maghreb, and prior to that, I published a study about its relations with the Arabs. I am in the process of studying its relations with the GCC. Some self-evident facts must be brought to mind here. First, the Arab world is the neighbor of southern and eastern Europe. Second, economic relations are important, and trade now constitutes 4 percent of the total of Europe's trade and 10 percent of its trade with countries outside the European Community. In Europe, there is an Arab community of more than 2 million workers. Also, Europeans of Arab origin

total about 5 million people. These people cannot be ignored at a time when new racist tendencies are emerging in Europe. Also, in 20 years' time the Arab world population will be greater than Europe's population. This thing cannot be ignored. Therefore, there are geostrategic considerations that compel Europe to deal with its neighbors cleverly within the framework of joint and fruitful policies on both sides of the Mediterranean.

Report Describes Lebanese Palestinians' Problems

93AE0037A London AL-WASAT in Arabic 5 Oct 92
pp 25-27

[Article by Faysal Jallul: "Lebanon's Palestinians a Big Problem"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Palestinian subject is not drawing exceptional attention in Lebanon, something unimaginable a few years ago. Palestinian activities are virtually limited to special displays, such as the tribute to the late Palestinian writer Ghassan Kanafani or the like. Were it not for occasional moves by the PLO's Beirut representative, Shafiq al-Hut, and the series of assassinations involving officials in the Abu-Nidal Organization or in Fatah, one might say that utter silence covers the subject. The reason, according to a Lebanese official who met with AL-WASAT, is that numerous Lebanese worries submerge everything else. The PLO is no longer, as it once was, a pivotal party in the Lebanese political equation. One can see this from the obstacles blocking the reopening of the PLO's Beirut office. AL-WASAT has learned that this subject was discussed repeatedly with senior officials in the Lebanese Government and also was raised during the recent meeting between President Hafiz al-Asad and Palestinian President Yasir 'Arafat, but no agreement was reached. Shafiq al-Hut still performs his mission as Palestinian ambassador in Lebanon from his home. That does not mean that Lebanon has withdrawn its recognition of the PLO; it merely means that Lebanese and Syrian officials wish to postpone discussing the Palestinian subject and Lebanese-Palestinian relations until the prospects and consequences of the peace negotiations become clear. As for the joint Lebanese-Palestinian committee, it is not looking deeply into the subject; it deals only with subsidiary issues related to plans for deploying Lebanese Army and security forces in the vicinity of the Palestinian camps, or it discusses arms collection and helps solve some problems related to work permits and travel documents for Palestinians, and so forth.

Root of the Problems

The extent of the problems that Palestinians in Lebanon experience, and thus the importance of a solution to them by the joint committee, will become clear if we look at Lebanese Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs statistics on the foreign work force in Lebanon. Of a total of about 15,000 work permits issued last year to foreigners and Arabs resident in Lebanon, Palestinians obtained

only 125 permits; this compares with over 3,000 permits for Syrians, 1,990 permits for Egyptians, 750 permits for Jordanians, and 200 permits for Sudanese. Bear in mind that Palestinians are estimated to number about 400,000 and have been living in Lebanon since 1948.

A high Palestinian official living in Lebanon who met with AL-WASAT said that the work and residency laws for Palestinians are at the root of the problem: "Nothing is clear; everything is wrapped in ambiguity. During the administration of the last government, headed by former prime minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, a law was issued fixing the areas in which Palestinians would be allowed to work and those that they would be prohibited from entering. Professions closed to them included barber, building watchman, dentist, etc. Although the government is not applying this law publicly, what is happening allows one to say that the permits granted to Palestinians are not entirely innocent of this law. Although the law does not forbid Palestinians from working in the media, it is extremely difficult to work in this area and next to impossible to work in banking, and this is typical."

Although the Palestinian official agreed that many people in fact work without permits by virtue of their rooted presence in Lebanon, he noted that this happens in the sphere of jobs that the Lebanese Government views as "illegitimate," thus giving the government the right to prosecute Palestinians who work without permits. "Of course, the government does not do this," but "leniency does not equal a right that ought to be embodied in an explicit law."

Regarding another side of the condition of Palestinians in Lebanon, the same Palestinian official said that great difficulties impede leaving and reentering Lebanon. He explained: "The Lebanese Government places no obstacles before a Palestinian who wants to obtain a travel document. The passport bureau gives a Palestinian resident in Lebanon a travel document within the legally set time if his situation is legal and he fulfills the conditions that apply to such cases. The problem arises when one returns. If the Palestinian returning from abroad to visit his family in Lebanon has obtained a political asylum card in Germany, he will be told, 'You may not be a refugee in two countries. Either be a refugee in Germany or one in Lebanon.'" The Palestinian official cited another example: "If the Palestinian has obtained citizenship in a foreign country and wants to keep Lebanese travel papers, the authorities will forbid him to do so. If he is carrying a Canadian passport, he will be told, 'We do not believe that Canada has refugees in Lebanon. You have become a Canadian and must be treated as such, not as a Palestinian refugee.'" The Lebanese Government gives no consideration to the fact that the person was born and lived in Lebanon and has a family and sometimes property, like any Lebanese. It simply strikes him from the lists of Palestinians in Lebanon.

The Palestinian official attributed this behavior to a type of thinking common 10 years ago. He stated: "Before the assassination of former president Bashir al-Jumayyil, the

Kaslik Institute prepared a study on the legal status of Palestinians in Lebanon. We at the time obtained a copy of the study. It said that when a Palestinian who was educated in Lebanon at great expense to the government traveled abroad, his legal status lapsed because he was not benefiting the state; so let him remain abroad! The intention was to reduce the number of Palestinians in Lebanon. The proposal was shelved after the assassination of Bashir al-Jumayyil, but I think it is being reconsidered, although not publicly."

It remains to be said that a nonresident Palestinian without Lebanese permanent residence papers is deported immediately. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to grant a nonresident Palestinian an entry visa to the country. On the other hand, still according to the Palestinian official, the Lebanese government does not object to high PLO officials residing in Lebanon if they originally were Palestinians residing in the country. Among the PLO officials who move freely in Beirut are Salah Salah and Abu-Mahir al-Yamani, both of whom are prominent leaders in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Salih Zaydan and 'Ali Faysal from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and officials from Fatah and the Arab Liberation Front, not to mention Dr. Anis Sayigh, Shafiq al-Hut himself, and others.

Idea of Implantation

The complications surrounding the status of Palestinians in Lebanon and especially in Beirut are aggravated by the strict surveillance imposed on the camps, which suffered heavy damage in wars from the Israeli invasion to the fighting between Amal and the PLO between 1985 and 1988. Access or departure from the camps in Beirut and its suburbs is subject to security officials of the Syrian forces deployed around the camps. Palestinian residents of the Beirut camps whom AL-WASAT met noted that the surveillance was much lighter than previously because of the atmosphere of detente between Damascus and the PLO, but it still has not ended, nor has permission been granted for extensive rebuilding. Repairing a house or building another one requires a legal permit that is difficult to obtain. Great difficulties hinder the removal of earthen embankments, barricades, and the debris of destruction. These things are still not permitted. Thus, normal life in the camps has been suspended for the indefinite future.

The various difficult conditions surrounding Palestinian daily life—unemployment, difficulties impeding returning emigrants, the suspension of a return to normal life, the uncertainty pervading Lebanese-Palestinian relations, the series of assassinations, the heavy surveillance, and the talk about eliminating the right of return for the refugees of 1948—these conditions are leading to heavy emigration among Palestinians. A local Palestinian official at one of the camps whom AL-WASAT met stated that a large number of young people from the camp, located in Greater Beirut, had emigrated in search of work and a secure future. The

same official said that some foreign embassies were giving Palestinians entry visas without great difficulties—particularly the Danish embassy. Before that, the Swedish embassy had given many visas to Palestinian youths who (in his words) "had lost hope in the revolution and in the situation in Lebanon." Earlier, it had been the German embassy. The official noted that it was a gradual process: when one embassy closed its doors, another, he said, would open its doors.

The increasing talk about possible implantation or assimilation of the Palestinians may explain the complex circumstances surrounding them. A prominent PLO member sees the encouragement of emigration by Palestinian youths and the erection of obstacles to their return as intended to reduce their numbers as much as possible. Thus, when the subject of implantation or assimilation is raised, the size of the problem will be much smaller than it would have been if the Palestinian concentration in Lebanon had remained as it was. Possible implantation is no longer a taboo subject that Palestinians avoid discussing. The prominent PLO member thinks that Israel will not recognize the Palestinians' right of return as specified by UN Resolution 194. If this law falls, implantation will become an accomplished fact despite the PLO's strong rejection of it in principle.

Rejection of implantation is not just a Palestinian position, it the definitive position of the Lebanese government, which under all administrations has repeatedly rejected the implantation or assimilation of Palestinians in Lebanon. It continues to consider raising the subject to be a kind of "plot" against Lebanon and the Palestinians.

If, as seems probable, implantation takes place, difficulties will emerge relating to Lebanon's sectarian composition. Strong objections will arise from a number of sectarian groups. The Maronite community, uneasy about the demographic increase of Lebanese Muslims and desirous of maintaining some sort of numerical balance between Muslims and Christians, will fight hard against implantation, seeing it as leading to major destabilization of the balance between the Lebanese communities. In the view of an informed Lebanese source, this might lead to a Maronite demand that Christian minorities living in Lebanon or wishing to immigrate be implanted, if it becomes clear that implantation of the Palestinians has become inevitable (the overwhelming majority of the Palestinians are Muslims). In the Shi'ite community some support implantation, but others reject it because it might increase the importance of another community. The political reasons for rejection have to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. One Shi'ite group, Hizballah, resolutely rejects implantation because it rejects any political settlement with Israel. Even among Sunni ranks there is no consensus supporting implantation. Part of the Sunni community rejects it out of a concern about distribution of the quota of government offices, positions, and jobs reserved for the Sunni community. With implantation, this quota would be the object of a new division. Another group, however, may

be too weak to resist the temptations that implantation brings. This is particularly true in areas where Sunnis are a minority compared with a majority of other communities. One points to the examples of Sidon and Tyre.

A prominent PLO member said: "Granting citizenship to a number of Palestinians may be accepted. However, the rest will remain in Lebanon, particularly if they do not wish to emigrate. In that case their status will be like that of the Arabs of Wadi Khalid, who carry identity papers under study. This situation has continued for years. Why shouldn't a similar situation continue for years to come for part of the Palestinians?"

In short, one can say that the Palestinians resident in Lebanon live in an atmosphere of anxiety and fear about the future—not only the future of the Palestinian cause, but also about their social and political future in Lebanon in particular, which is now opening the emigration door as widely as possible for them. To quote an adviser to a prominent Lebanese minister, the presence in Lebanon of the PLO, the organization directly responsible for Palestinian affairs, is limited to 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp and Shafiq al-Hut. As for al-Hut, he cannot even get an office from which to carry out his national mission. As for 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp, when it is not embroiled in intra-Palestinian conflicts, it becomes an easy target for Israeli attacks and the object of rivalry between many groups. All this is pushing Lebanon's Palestinians to emigrate or possibly to accept future implantation on the grounds that they have no other option.

Unionist Comments on Israeli Trade Regulations

93AE0039B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 7 Oct 92
p 13

[Article by Nur-al-Din al-Furaydi in Brussels: "Israel's 'Openness' Toward Palestinian Economy Aims at Employing Immigrants"]

[Text] The president of the Agronomists Association in the occupied territories, Shakir Judah affirmed that the occupying authorities have eased some of the restrictions imposed on Palestinian companies, but they are making it a condition for the development projects to import from Israel, depriving Palestinian companies from importing directly.

In a private interview, he said that it may appear that there has been a kind of easing in this area. One manifestation of this easing is that the occupying authorities are granting permits for building factories and registering agricultural cooperative societies. He added that these measures aim at getting rid of the Palestinian workers in order to give employment opportunities to Jewish immigrants. Unemployment rates in Israel are as high as 12 percent. The rate is even higher among the immigrants.

He said that both current and future development projects will remain hostage to the Israeli economy

because the occupying authorities require these projects to import Israeli products and, using various methods, prevent exporting the Palestinian products to the Israeli markets.

Judah said that the Palestinian market was open to Israeli products, but the Palestinians cannot market their products in Israel. As an example, he said that the Palestinians could not move their goods from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip or from Tulkrum to East Jerusalem.

Judah spoke to AL-HAYAH about a seminar organized by the European Nongovernmental Organizations last week in Brussels. The seminar was titled "Palestine: Development for Peace." In this seminar, 150 European and Palestinian experts discussed the priorities of development in the sectors of agriculture, infrastructure, education, and health. He said that the formula of development for peace is wrong, because development would still be nonexistent unless the Palestinians have control over the land and the water resources. He also mentioned that it would not be possible to have agricultural development while Israeli settlements and institutions have a monopoly on water use. The amount of water available in the occupied territories ranges between 700 and 800 million cubic meters annually. The Israeli institutions use about 535 million cubic meters, which is about 80 percent, while the Palestinians use about 115 million cubic meters. On top of that, the occupying authorities have installed meters on the wells in Palestinian fields and on public farms. They punish every farmer that exceeds the water quota specified by the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture.

The Gaza Strip is faced with the danger of drought. Jewish settlers represent 3 percent of the population of the strip, but they use more than two-thirds of the available resources. Their excess use leads to the scarcity of water for drinking and irrigation. It also leads to the leaking of seawater, which leads to high salinity rates that threaten the water that is fit for drinking and irrigation. According to Judah, continuing the status quo will lead to desertification within 10 years.

The Palestinian economy faces a big problem that prevents Palestinian companies from importing directly, especially from the European Community. The occupying authorities aim to keep the Palestinian institutions completely dependent upon the Israeli institutions.

In addition to this issue, there are taxes, complications, and inspection measures applied by the occupying authorities on Palestinian exports to the European Community, to the extent that rendered such exports useless. Judah said that cost of the security checks is as high as \$30 per day, while the salary of the worker is not more than \$15 per day. The exports are inspected at collection centers and also at Ashdod Port before they are shipped to Europe. Judah added that the complications imposed by the occupying authorities and the lack of refrigeration trucks to transport the products from the farms to

Ashdod can result in a 20-day delivery time for the agricultural products, while the estimated life of the fruit is only two weeks. This explains the losses over the last three years. He also mentioned that the Palestinian exporters have asked for X ray machines to be used to inspect the products. They also hope to find European importers who will accept delivery in Ashdod, a matter that would decrease the costs of exporting some products such as eggplants, which cost \$1,500 per ton to export.

Agricultural products suffered last year from the snow, which affected the crops and the infrastructure. Judah said that the damage was about \$75 million. This damage will also have a negative effect on the current crops. He said that farmers received about \$1.1 million in European aid in the form of material goods, such as fodder and plastic paper. He added that establishing an insurance fund against natural disasters should a top priority in the occupied territories.

EGYPT

Labor Party Leader Accuses U.S. of Conspiracy

93AF0107A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 13 Oct 92 p 10

[Report by Mu'taz al-Hadidi: "Our Rulers Are Lost and Are Wasting Us. Our Hope Rests With Our Youths"]

[Text] "There is no hope in existing regimes. They have wasted land and people. But hope lies with you, the youths of the Islamic renaissance. You are the ones to change this painful state of affairs. The blood of your brethren in Bosnia and Hercegovina beseeches the rulers, but the only response is from you. You hasten to offer your few piasters to your brethren in Bosnia and Hercegovina."

That was how Ibrahim Shukri opened his remarks at a rally held by the Labor Party in Helwan last Friday in support of the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The rally, cosponsored by the Committee to Support Muslim Peoples, was attended by Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin, Dr. Muhammad 'Amarah, Dr. Ibrahim al-Khuli, Ahmad al-Siyufi, 'Adil Na'man, and Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Iliyah.

Shukri said in his remarks: "The 'new world order' hoax that they came up with has been fully exposed. This [new] world that they claimed would stand for human rights and the rights of peoples—what has it done for the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina? What has it even done for the Muslims of Burma and India?

"Bosnia lies at the heart of Europe, and everyone is aware of the developments there. They say: 'We will not move unless we have a vested interest'. Bush put it plainly: 'We have no interest in stopping the massacre of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina.'"

Shukri added: "Yes, they have no interest in dispatching troops to put an end to the massacre because there is no

oil there that they wish to control. Besides, the developments there are pleasing to the Zionists, and Bush is interested only in the pleasure of the Zionists.

"Thatcher said a while ago: 'Even though NATO was created to face off to the Warsaw Pact, and even though the Warsaw Pact has collapsed, I refuse to dispense with NATO because we face a new enemy in Islam and its followers.'"

Shukri continued: "They wish to terminate the Muslim nation in the heart of Europe. They are opposed to the rise of Islam. The West is working to partition and fragment the Muslim world."

If Arab Rulers Would Only Think!

He emphasized that Arab rulers have done no more than to say that they convene in support of Muslims. If this were true, things would have turned out differently, and the situation would not have persisted this long. But hope is lost on those regimes.

Shukri explained: "America knows full well that it now has the final word and can dictate to any king or emir: 'Do not act on this issue except to the extent that I allow you,' and he would comply promptly!

"Shame on rulers who refrain from acting when America says 'Do not act!'"

Hope Lies With the People of Egypt

Shukri said: "The people of Egypt must be a role model for other peoples and must hold onto their religion and commit to the way of salvation—the way of Islam.

"Yes, 'Islam Is the Solution' in its chastity. Islam, with which we can fight corruption. Projects that cost us millions are collapsing in the governorates. Bridges collapse, and projects are stolen. This would not have happened had there been a conscience."

Shukri concluded his remarks to the throng of thousands by saying: "It is not with aid alone that nations live. The loans we obtain are not the solution. We must depend on our own efforts and our own sweat to resolve all obstacles and difficulties.

"Strong people know how to resolve their own problems."

The Muslim World Is Absent

Dr. 'Abd-al-Sabur Shahin said in his remarks: "The problem is that the Muslim world is totally barren in the absence of the Muslim spirit. There is no hope for Muslims without unity among the nations of the Muslim world."

Dr. Shahin called upon the Islamic Congress to hold a "summit" of Islamic world leaders or else all of them would be indicted for betraying the cause of the Muslim

world. "We can not accept this negative stance. Let one banner only be hoisted at the summit of this world—the banner of Islam."

He said that sending "bread and blankets to our brethren in Bosnia and Hercegovina is a but sign of meekness and weakness and a course that holds no honor for the Muslim world or for its leaders and kings. [Armed] forces must be dispatched to help our brethren in Bosnia-Hercegovina prevail in face of that barbaric raid."

He added: "History shall indict all rulers of high treason for their feeble response to the catastrophe."

He then addressed himself to the rulers saying: "O leaders of the Muslim world: You will not carry the weight of kings and presidents unless you rise to the defense of Islam, of the Muslim world, and of the souls and sons of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

A Human Slaughterhouse

Dr. Muhammad 'Amarah began by saying: "The events in Bosnia-Hercegovina are but a human slaughterhouse, unprecedented in history. The Serbs not only rape Muslim women, but they also detain them in concentration camps until the fruits of that crime are born. Things got so bad that Muslim women were being offered for the recreation of the international troops. This crime ceased only when Egyptian forces arrived on the scene."

Dr. 'Amarah continued: "The Western world has felt the Muslim renaissance in all parts of the world and has begun a conspiracy to strike it down. The leader of Serbia even told his troops: 'You are the vanguard of the Crusades!'"

He added: "It has been said that we sent one of our countrymen to the United Nations. The truth is that we did not send him. Instead, the West selected him. We would not be going too far afield if we call him 'Butrus the Serb' and not Butrus Ghali. We place no hope on him or on others. Our hope lies with the Muslim renaissance."

They Fear Sudan

Said Dr. 'Amarah: "Butrus Ghali is silent on Bosnia, but he speaks on Somalia, not because he is sympathetic to the latter but because they found out that Sudan has vanquished its enemies in the South. They want to dispatch Western troops to the scene to turn Somalia into a springboard for baptism and evangelism and to position Western forces close to Muslim forces in Sudan."

"Butrus Ghali has been silent on Bosnia because he learned that Europe has decided against the rise of a Muslim country in its midst. We say that [the people of] Bosnia and Hercegovina are advancing courageously along the road to martyrdom, that they are responding to the dictates of their religion even though they are fighting the fourth most powerful army in Europe. What are we to say to God when He asks the reason for our dereliction?"

The State of Muslims

Dr. Ibrahim al-Khuli then discussed the state of Muslims saying: "It is natural that the enemies of Islam should act on their desire to wipe it off the face of the earth and to eradicate all Muslims, if they could, in view of the stupor in which we are engulfed."

Dr. Ibrahim held the Muslims themselves responsible for the suffering of Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims. He said: "We are the ones responsible because we have espoused shame and degradation the day we kept silent on the usurpation of our lands and the rape of our women. The enemy did nothing more than seize an opportunity."

He warned that the lands of Islam may again be lost at the hands of Muslim world rulers whom he described as "latter-day kings," saying: "No man would even dream of challenging Islam if Muslims were powerful and foreboding."

Where Is the Nation's Protector?

Ahmad al-Siyufi then addressed the rally to say: "The Muslim nation awaits a new protector who will save it from degradation and shame. The suffering of the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina is on the head of all Muslims, male and female."

"The Muslim masses must act to change this sorrowful state that we endure."

Al-Siyufi then described the atrocities the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina are suffering at the hands of the Serbs, and especially the sex camps, where Muslim women are raped.

He explained that no hope lies with the United Nations, where 52 Muslim nations have only one vote in the Security Council, the same as Russia, which can no longer has the means to pay for its food, and the same as France, which represents only itself. The United Nations is a Christian concept whose ultimate purpose is to serve the Christian-Zionist design. Butrus Ghali proved that when he audaciously commented that Bosnian Muslims were "troublemakers"!

Jihad Among Conference Recommendations

'Adil Na'man, representing al-Maraghi Mosque and the Islamic Relief Committee, talked about the massive throngs thirsting for jihad in the service of God.

The rally concluded with recommendations read by Shaykh al-Muhammadi 'Abd-al-Maqsud. Among other things, the recommendations called for:

- An appeal to the Muslim nation and to Muslim youths in all Muslim countries to take part in the struggle of the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina and call upon governments, institutions, and individuals to fund that jihad.

- All Muslim countries to fully boycott the belligerent regime in Belgrade and extend that boycott to include countries that support the hostilities.
- The lifting of the restrictions on the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, enabling them to defend themselves and provide themselves with arms and supplies in order that they may safeguard their land and their identity.
- The governments of the Muslim world to rush all the help they can to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The size of such help shall correspond to the gravity of that catastrophe.
- The 'ulemas of the Muslim nation to carry out their shari'a responsibilities in addressing governments and the governed, proclaiming the rule of Islam in this sacred war, mobilizing people and alerting them to their responsibilities, and declaring a jihad in order to redress injustice and aggression against the Muslim people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Forming standing committees from all Muslim countries and cities in support of the jihad by the Muslim people of Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- The dispatch of volunteers supplied with funds and arms and the governments to lift restrictions on youths.

Extremists Said To Penetrate Public Media

93AF0101A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
21 Sep 92 pp 72-73

[Article by Wahid Hamid]

[Text] Some matters cannot be perceived because they are too complicated. The mind cannot comprehend some resolutions because they are too vague and irrational. There are also some matters that cannot be understood because they are too tricky. Present day geniuses also perform some actions that the ordinary brain rejects, and demands that they be referred to brains like those of politicians and national security personnel. For all of these reasons, I would like 10 tyrants from the Ministry of Information to tie me and beat me until I understand the secret of the strange decree that prohibits the advertising of films and plays on Egyptian television: May God bless it. Instructions were given to the effect that television advertisements for films and plays should only show a single picture that bears the name of the film or play. Shortly, with God's blessing, there will be a ban on any advertisement for films or plays. At that time, advertising for films and plays will be treated the same as advertising for tobacco or cigarettes. When this happens, the ad will be accompanied by a warning stating that films and plays are harmful to health and dangerous to public manners. In a subsequent process, there will be a complete ban on any ads for films and plays, placing them in the same category as liquor and other forbidden products.

Those tyrants put poison in our honey. They consider people as herds of humans who will accept all that the powerful people on television impose on them. Those masters claim that ads for films and plays are full of dancing, singing, and obscenity. Subsequently, this decree was decreed to safeguard people's values and manners. Yet, they seem to be unaware that such a claim is both untrue and pretentious. This is so, because dancing, singing, whining, and obscenity are found in all types of ads for the different products and services. Ads for cookies show young children dancing. Ads for tea, ghee, and detergents show beautiful girls dancing. As for soap, cosmetics, and ladies accessories, much is shown in their ads. However, the Ministry of Information considers all of the above mentioned ads to be polite and decent. They consider the dances to be decent and in good taste...the songs more pleasant than 'Abd-al-Halim's, may God rest his soul. In this case, obscenity does not contradict with decency! On the other hand, if a song is presented with an ad for a film or a play, it is then considered immoral or an act of fornication.

This hasty ban is aimed not at safeguarding people's manners and values, but at hitting the film industry and theater with a deadly blow. Films and plays are regarded as houses of Satan by the new tartars, who are crawling on us like snakes,...However, if ads for films and plays contain any obscenity, this could be remedied very simply and easily. The censorship office could perform its main task, which is guidance, in cases of unacceptable ads. However, what happens is that this office treats ads for films and plays in a very strict manner from the very start, banning anything that it considers unacceptable. If anyone questions the office's, the answer is always, "These are the instructions....the instructions." If one attempts to search for any such written instructions or to determine who issued them, one would not find anything. This is because these are actually secret instructions, and their source is unknown. Yet they are very effective and strongly adhered to. This adherence was clearly demonstrated when the decree for a total ban on ads for films and plays was issued, even though some of the ads did not show any type of dancing or singing, which is permitted in all other ads.

The television office, which was originally established to broadcast arts to all the Egyptian people, as well as to the outside world, has actually been turned to airing stern hatred to the arts. This is a large invasion, where the Tartar leaders wish to record their victory. To achieve this goal, these Tartars do a lot of thinking, planning, and recruiting of soldiers from every field. Besides, in the television office itself are effective and influential cadres who implement with great precision the tasks assigned to them, with no fear of being hurt.

Adherents to backwardness inside the colossal building overlooking the road along the Nile aspire to suffocate the civilization, economic, and media aspects of the nation. The Egyptian spirit has found its way all over the Arab world by way of Egyptian arts. The first destination of Arab tourists in Egypt are the theaters and cinemas.

One could just ask the Taxation Department about the revenues of the theaters during the summer season. One could also ask the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the impact of the Egyptian arts on the Arab world, despite this outrageous campaign against the Egyptian arts. This campaign is financed by the wealthy Arab brethren who advocate backwardness, rigidity, and oppression. These advocates and flatterers forget that the films and plays for which ads are banned are much better than many of the silly programs that television imposes on us, which have no intellectual, cultural, or artistic value.

Incidentally, we venture to ask an important question: Has the media apparatus been penetrated? Undoubtedly, media personnel are the first to recognize the danger of rumours, and they know the proverb that states: "Where there is smoke, there is fire." There are strong rumours that the Egyptian media has been penetrated, that it is functioning according to instructions that serve neither state nor national policy, and that there are various trends that move in different directions. As humans with minds of our own, we should reject those rumours because we do not doubt the nationalism of media personnel. At the same time, we should reject the pretensions that assert that there are certain programs that serve different trends and currents. I would not be exaggerating when I say that rumours have been magnified to the extent that it has been asserted that a friendly Arab country has consolidated its control over the Egyptian media. We must reject all of these rumours by resorting to sound logic and proper thinking. Yet, when decrees such as those banning films and plays ads are imposed on us, should we then believe logic or rumours?

The strange and even astonishing fact regarding these decrees and other, similar decisions on bans, prohibitions, censorship, and omissions is that they are always ascribed to the mighty invisible and unknown. They always say: "The instructions came from above!" We Egyptians are used to comprehending this last statement as "Listen and obey!" We are given instructions, and we hurry to execute them. We are not supposed to discuss or oppose them.

I wanted to know who actually issued the ban on cinema and theater ads, and I found out that an employee in the ads department was the one who signed it. Then, I asked: "Does this employee have the authority to issue such a decree?" The answer was that the employee did not understand the instructions! This means that there is an official who would issue instructions, yet would not dare sign them, for fear that he would be identified and therefore subjected to questioning. This official presumably knows from the start that his decision is wrong and serves only personal and doubtful interests. Subsequently, an employee who is slow at understanding is assigned to implement the instructions so that, if asked, could reply that he did not understand the instructions in the first place! This mistake would then pass easily as an unintended one and would be corrected, but the bitter

truth would remain that it had been an intended mistake and that its instigators had wanted to come out victorious.

The new state is advancing steadily and with great confidence. Its advocates occupy sensitive and influential posts. Frankly, we have begun to feel and sense the presence of this new state, whether it be on the television screen or in the actions of those mighty media personnel inside the colossal building located on the road overlooking the Nile, which is called the Television and Broadcasting Building.

Societies Accused of Protecting Extremists

93AF0101B Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
16 Sep 92 pp 31-33

[Article by Jamal Tayi']

[Text] There are 4,000 religious societies in Egypt.

Any person can go tomorrow, or any other day, to the Ministry of Social Affairs and submit an application for the establishment of a society that works in God's name [nonprofit]. The ministry will approve the application, assuming that the applicant is a philanthropist. Later, however, it may be revealed that either this person is cheating and stealing in the name of religion or that he is searching for an official dwelling, which the state would sponsor, for a group of extremists.

There is no clear and definite information regarding the name and history of the first religious society established in Egypt. Yet, we are sure that some religious societies existed towards the turn of the 19th century, when some of them were established to play a role in resisting British imperialism. Paradoxically enough, it was the British who issued the first law organizing activities of such societies. However, those societies turned against the British and started activities that called for independence. Examples of such societies would be the Islamic Charity Society; the Society of al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa; the Pioneers Society, which established the first institute for social services in Egypt at Alexandria; and the Society for Preserving the Holy Koran, which tried to fill the gap when the British, fearing a revolution, closed the small rural schools that taught the Koran.

Nowadays, however, some people establish a religious society and claim that they are teaching of the Koran, which is a pretext for giving private lessons to students. This means that they have abandoned their charitable project and turned it to an investment.

A new law was promulgated after the revolution. This law stipulated stricter regulations for the establishment of religious societies. The law comprised 75 articles, most of which stipulated that religious societies be supervised by the government. According to this law, the government would have representatives on both the societies' board of directors and general assemblies. In addition, the government was entrusted with the power

to dissolve any society and either impose penalties or persecute those who violate the acts of the law.

Another law was issued in 1964, which is still in force. Husayn Sadiq—general secretary of the Union of Religious Societies and Organizations—stated that in compliance with the 1964 law, a decree was issued to dissolve more than 100 societies because they had deviated from their activities. Strangely, these dissolved societies had chosen profoundly religious names, which sounded very holy and sacred. Examples of these names were: "Virtuous Worshipers for the Development of Local Society," "Lovers of the Descendants of the Prophet—May God's Prayers and Peace Be With Him," "Honesty and Rendering," "Virgin Mary and St. Athanasious," "Christian Faith Society," "Society of St. Paul the Apostle," "Lady Khadijah Society," and "Islamic Cultural Salon."

Official Extremism

Husayn Sadiq said: "In former times, the wealthy volunteered for charitable causes and were motivated by social prestige. The people, however, benefitted from the money and established various service projects. Moreover, activities of the religious societies were, at that time, confined to religious activities only. The Islamic Charity and al-'Urwah al-Wuthqa Societies both had realized medical services shortages. Subsequently, they established hospitals, such as al-'Ajuzah, al-Muwasalah, and the Muhammad 'Ali Health Care Center. As the problems of illiteracy and a lack of education increased tremendously in rural areas, schools and hospitals were established alongside mosques. Everybody remembers the efforts of the al-Mas'i al-Mashkurah [Worthy of Thanks Endeavors Society] in al-Minufiyah Province.

We have at present few deviations. This, however, does not reduce the importance of monitoring these social activities, because of those who deviate from the goals of the societies.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Maqsud, president of the regional societies union, said: "The law stipulates that a society can be dissolved if it fails to fulfil its obligations, if there were serious mistakes performed by the society's management, or if the general assembly has not been convened in the last two years."

This actually happened in the case of some societies when the board of directors became weak and extremists penetrated and controlled them. Shaykh Mansur Al-Rifa'i 'Ibid, the general director of mosques at the Ministry of Awqaf, said: "As the societies' leaders abandoned their duties, the extremists could get into these societies and set up camp there. When people have nothing virtuous to be preoccupied with, they will be preoccupied with evil. I myself have witnessed the way extremists dominated the mosques of al-Shara'ia Society in Lower Egypt, as well as the Young Muslim Men's Association and the Conservation of the Holy Koran Society, also in Lower Egypt."

That was what Shaykh Mansur said. Moreover, extremism has also penetrated those societies that placed their newspapers and magazines into the ditch of extremism, terrorism, and the defenders of both of these evils. Muhammad Safwat Nur-al-Din, general director of the society for the Supporters of the Muhammadan Sunna, wrote in the last issue of the society's magazine: "Be pious to God, writers.... Do not accuse those who are innocent, and do not describe invocation societies as blasphemous—invocation societies in this context refer to extremist societies." The editor-in-chief of the same magazine wrote: "Some groups of people want to put off God's light with their mouths...." He also accused some writers of abandoning Islam in their articles.

Aid Conditions

Muhammad al-Balah, who is in charge of the Union of Religious Societies' financial committee and treasurer of the Muslim Youth Society, said that in order to be certified, every society has to secure the clearance of the following: The state security apparatus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the intelligence agency, the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the regional union with which the society would be affiliated.

Giving subsidies to the society starts from the first day of its establishment.... At the outset, the founders must provide both a construction design and an estimate for the cost of the construction of the society's building. Both of these documents must be ratified by the Ministry of Housing. Subsequently, the society gets half the money that it needs from the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the other half should be provided by the society. Next, it receives a subsidy to buy the furniture needed for the society. Moreover, some societies get exceptional subsidies to cover the deficit in their expenses, in case their spending exceeds their revenues. Last year, religious societies received the sum of 27 million pounds in aid, which was recorded under the item of various subsidies.

Societies, however, are not satisfied with these sums. They seek many other sources, such as collecting donations on the streets...and even obtaining U.S. aid, which is granted to foster religious activities!

Muhammad Al-Balah said: "Any society is only eligible to receive donations, aid, or subsidies from foreign countries after securing the approval of the concerned administrative office.... Any violation of this regulation would lead to the society's dissolution and to its administrators being legally interrogated."

It has become a fact that religious societies can get U.S. aid once they meet the legal requirements. Foremost among these requirements is that the society's activity should not be confined to a specific village or location. Another requirement is that the society should provide 25 percent of the money that it requires, so that the U.S. Agency for International Development will pay the remaining 75 percent. The total sum, however, should be

within the limit of 30,000 pounds for ordinary projects and 220,000 pounds for comprehensive projects.

During the past few years, the following societies received U.S. aid: The Society for Muslim Youths, the Shara'ia Society—it is generally recognized that most members of this society belong to the Muslim Brotherhood—the Society for Supporters of Islam, the Society for Muslim Women at 'Abdin, the Coptic Karma Society, the Coptic Peace Society, and the Society for the Martyr Dimiana.

The president of the Society for the Martyr Dimiana, Faruq Amin Sukkar, said: "Financing from the United States comes through the Ministry of Social Affairs and not directly from USAID to the society. This aid is nonrefundable. Our society received 10,000 pounds in aid from the United States last year to set up a laboratory and buy a computer."

Sukkar added: "These sums are just temporary support for the society, to enable it to extend the area of its activities. I do not see any embarrassment regarding this grant, as long as it is not conditional and therefore does not place the society under its mercy. We also have other sources of financing such as subscriptions (3,000 pounds per year), the charity sale, and donations from members."

Inside Members' Pockets

In the name of religion or invocation to God, people falsify society seals and records,...and thus the voluntary (religious) activity becomes a means to gain a fortune in a corrupt manner. Some months back, police caught a man and his son who had collected thousands of pounds under the pretext of "charitable donations." Investigations revealed that they had thousands of receipts carrying the names of both the Shara'ia Society at Dar-al-Salam and the Society for Social Development. The story ended in the prosecutor's office.

Similar incidents occurred in the Kirdasa Charity Society. Its president prepared lists of imaginary names of people, whom he claimed were in need of 20,000 pounds, and he signed instead of them.

The Glory of Islam society at Shubra collected about 10 million pounds in order to build an Islamic compound for religious and social services that would have included a hospital, schools, and a workshop for women.... However, these sums were cashed by the members of the board of directors; the boxes were broken; and the donations were stolen. An investigation is still under way.

Magdi Wahba did the same as those mentioned above. He visited big traders to collect donations to build a church. In one instance, he demanded 5,000 pounds from a person who doubted his intentions because the church that he was talking about did not exist...and he was caught.

Muhammad al-Balah said: "A society is not permitted to collect donations from people without a permit and can only collect for a period of three months. At the end of the three months, the period can be renewed. Nowadays, however, some people collect donations as their profession. These people charge a commission ranging between 10 to 20 percent.... We in the union are not satisfied with this procedure."

Al-Balah mentioned, however, that societies' accounts were supervised by the Central Auditing Apparatus and the societies' general assemblies. In many instances, financial accounts do not show any changes, which indicates that these are lazy organizations.... They become certified in order to acquire the privileges that the law gives to societies, such as tax, duty, and registration exemptions!

Shaykh Mansur al-Rifa'i said: "Most of these societies have lost their credibility in performing their roles.... If they had performed these roles properly, then religious and intellectual extremism and social violence would have disappeared. Most societies closed their doors as directed by some of their founders. I recall that I had submitted a memorandum in 1984 to the former Minister of Awqaf, Dr. al-Ahmadi Abu-al-Nur, asking for some societies that were not functioning to be dissolved. Yet, the decree for dissolving them was not issued."

Official Lists Proposals To Confront Extremism

93AF0100A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 19 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Musa Mahmud Sidqi, charge d'affaires]

[Text] Extremism is going off the track. During the course of Islamic history, there have been many movements and ideologies that have abandoned the proper religious path. I think that people should view Islam as a simple and forgiving religion. Eventually, there would be only a few extremists who would be easily described as being lost and wanting others to become lost, too.

I am confident that some proposals and commandments must be applied that would affect these faulty and biased ideas. I am not exaggerating when I say that this procedure will have many more useful consequences that will benefit both state and people.

- There should be consented efforts to help all nationals feel affiliated with their country. People, on the other hand, should be realistic and realize that the country is theirs. To achieve this goal, all "exceptional" laws, which differentiate between people, should be abolished. I refer here to the fact that those who are unemployed are prone to have stale ideas and bad behavior.
- People's identity should be clarified: If we are Arabs, then let us be Arabs with all our hearts and souls.
- Television is a dangerous media tool. Much of what it offers should be deleted, and there should be a reduction in transmission hours. In fact, television could be given a day's holiday, as is happening in Hungary. At

this point, no one should protest these recommendations, saying that TV offers a few religious seminars that should not affect people because people have become programmed with strange thoughts, stray ideas, and unbecoming behavior.

- Education plans should be amended and those religious education systems that rely on good role models should be encouraged. Thinkers and those who have good opinions should be consulted on this issue.
- Democracy should be adopted in all of our meetings and discussions. There should be no room for dictatorship or despotism, which would revive the days of the pharaohs and despots. The People's Assembly should also be given the right to vote its confidence in the government, the same as parliaments worldwide.
- The Ministry of Awqaf should be abolished. In this case, Awqaf schools would be under the Ministry of Education, hospitals under the Health Ministry, and so on. A supreme organization for preaching Islam should be established. This should have enlightened ideas and be led by an honorable shaykh, who should be elected.
- The feelings of compassion, sympathy and friendliness, which people were previously used to, should be revived. Islam does not advocate that some people die of overeating, while others die of hunger.

If these ideas and ones similar to them were followed, many would return to the motherland.

I am only asking for reform. Accomplishment is only obtained with God's help, and we should depend only on Him.

'Major Surgery Required' for National Reform

93AF0100C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 17 Sep 92 p 1

[Text] Reform in Egypt can only be accomplished through major surgery that would remove all the tumors and cure all the diseases that have accumulated during the last 40 years. Laws and decrees that were issued during the dictatorship are still valid. The decree passed to nationalize the press is still valid, and the newspapers that the state put its hands on remain nationalized. The president still appoints newspapers presidents, board members, and chief editors. The decree to dissolve political parties still holds good under the name of the parties' law. This law gives the government the power to permit or not permit any party's activities. The same law also gives the government the right to close any party at any time. The local government system, which was established to lessen the power of the central government, has proved to be aimed at giving benefits to both trustworthy persons who are looking for luxurious living and those who are lazy and have failed to solve people's problems. Pictures that AL-WAFD publishes daily on front pages of its paper are substantial proof of this failure.

Free education was introduced, yet it was done to fool naive and simple people. Many families spent a great

deal of money to give their children private tutoring, as well as to pay school fees and pay for school stationery.

Agricultural reform led to a decrease in Egypt's agricultural and animal husbandry production. Lately, this reform was openly criticized by both the judicial system and the head of al-Azhar as contradicting religious instructions, both in the shari'a and the laws. The 50 percent law for members of parliament, with no equivalent in any other part of the world, proved to have been originated in order to give the president a lifetime presidency.

Egypt is still being governed by laws from the 1960's and 1970's, which put many restrictions on it and prevented it from lining up with developed countries.

Egypt is still a captive of the period of dictatorship and therefore needs major surgery. It needs a courageous surgeon, who would consider Egypt's future and not look back at the period when Egypt was governed by Nasir, from Manshiyat al-Bakri, or by Sadat. Then, Egypt would find its right place in the new world, where there is freedom, democracy, and development.

Professors Claim Conspiracy Against Islamic Media

93AF0100D Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 16 Sep 92 p 3

[Article by Magdi Zallam]

[Text] Ever since the establishment of the School of Islamic Preaching at the Al-Azhar University in 1978, the Department of Islamic Media has been one part of its three departments. The reason for establishing an Islamic Media Department was to have graduates who, as they become Islamic preachers, would be cultured individuals knowledgeable of their religion because they have combined media studies with the method of preaching the way to God. This Department continued to exist till 17 July 1991, when the school presented to the university a new curricula that amended some of the scientific courses in the three departments. This amendment was presented to the Higher Council for al-Azhar at its 97th meeting on the same date noted above. Though the council approved the curricula changes, it disappointed everyone by incorporating the Department of Islamic Media with those of Religion and Islamic Culture, although the curricula amendments had not referred to any such incorporation.

The council explained that the Department of "Islamic Media" in the School of Preaching had a counterpart, the Department of "Journalism and Media," in the School of Arabic Studies. This explanation made the school staff, in general, and the department staff, in particular, feel astounded and helpless. It also provoked many questions in their minds, such as the reason for this incorporation: Is it a plot against Islamic media at the university? Does the existence of a department that has a counterpart at the university mean that this department should be canceled?

Mahmud al-Sawi, an assistant lecturer in the School of Preaching said: "The Department of Islamic Media was an element of attraction for the recruitment of students. In fact, it was the reason I enrolled in the school. Yet, we were astonished by the decree, which was passed by the Higher Council for al-Azhar, that incorporated this department with the two other departments in the school. We were disappointed because this department had been established to prepare graduates who would be Islamic preachers and would combine the knowledge of journalism with that of preaching methods. Media studies form a part of the cultural civilization of this present age. This is due to the fact that media has fundamentals, methods, and means that can impact the advocating of the way to God the Almighty. Everyone also knows that media has two facets: One of them can be used for building, while the other can be used for destruction."

Muhammad Hilmy, a graduate of the Media Department, School of Preaching, added: "I benefited from studying in this department and recommend that it remains as one of the school's departments. This school needs a media department more than any other school because media and preaching are two faces of the same coin. With the existence of this department, religious media specialists, having studied preaching methods, can thus control the different media means and give them an Islamic tint so that the media will not be controlled by secularism or communism."

Musa Ahmad, who works at one of the Islamic papers, said: "I graduated from the Islamic Media Department in the school in 1984. Frankly, the idea of having such a department is good and has its goals. However, resources are not available. The department needs to be improved and modernized. This improvement and modernization should involve the recruitment of specialized and qualified staff, as well as offering student-training programs that contain the latest developments and technologies in television and radio studios.... Other than that, I do not deny that this department plays a beneficial role. My only demand is that there be well-prepared curricula, specialized staff, and material resources. Should these demands be met, I would agree with those who say that this department should remain."

Surprise

Dr. Yihya Salim, a lecturer at the School of Preaching, said: "We were surprised by the Higher Council's decree to incorporate the Media Department with two other departments in the school. We knew nothing in advance and were informed through the administrative staff at the school, so that we were placed in a difficult situation. This sequence of events left us no chance for negotiating or opposing, as we were all surprised by this decision. This was especially so because the decree was issued at a time when we were busy with exams at the school. Besides, it came at the time that the former dean's term had ended and the present dean had not yet taken

office.... This proved that there had been a predetermined plot to bury the department alive and also one against Islamic media...."

Salim added: "This decree was wrong, and the explanations have been inadequate because, if a department in a certain school has a counterpart in another, that is not by a good reason to close it".

Dr. Zaki 'Uthman added: "Both media and preaching are important.... Therefore it would be better to have the Media Department in the School of Preaching. As for anyone who says that there is already a Department of Journalism and Media in the School for Arabic Studies and that it is not necessary to have another one in the School for Preaching because it would be a duplication, this opinion is both wrong and unacceptable. However, what could be said is that the department, as it exists right now, is not working efficiently and needs improvement, so that it can perform its task as best as it can. Graduates should excel both culturally and from their knowledge of media aspects. Language teaching should be emphasized, so that as an Islamic preacher, the graduate can communicate with people of all nationalities."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Ghaffar 'Aziz, the first dean of the School of Preaching in al-Minufiya, and head of the previous Media Department, said: "At the same time that the Islamic world is emphasizing establishing departments of Islamic Media at its universities and provides these departments with the different scientific and technological resources so that their graduates can be useful in serving the cause of Islam, in Egypt, the Higher Council for al-Azhar issues a decree to close the most important department in the School of Islamic Preaching, the only remaining school, since the Schools of Preaching at both al-Minufiya and Tanta were closed."

'Aziz went on to say that "al-Azhar University Council had approved, directly before the meeting of the Higher Council for al-Azhar, the curricula amendments involving some courses in the different departments, without any mention of this incorporation. This indicates that there had been some predetermination to destroy Islamic media, generally speaking, at al-Azhar University".

'Aziz added that closing the Department of Media at the school makes the school no any different from the Department of Preaching in the School of Religious Studies. "This refutes the reason given by those who claim that this department was closed because there is a Department of Journalism in the School of Arabic Studies. In addition, there was an earlier decree to close the Department of Journalism, with the assumption that a Graduate Institute for Media Studies would suffice. Therefore, what happened to media studies at al-Azhar? What is happening ascertains that there is indeed a plot to strike at media, generally speaking, at al-Azhar. For this reason, we appeal to the prime minister not to approve or endorse the decree to close the department

and to keep it and support it in order to save Islamic preaching and Islamic media."

I Challenge

Dr. 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Shaykh, president of the university, asserted that none of the media professors came up with a memorandum asking for the department to be reopened. He further said that he would challenge anyone who would say so....

He added that this department had a counterpart in the School of Arabic Studies—the Department of Journalism and Media. He said that there was no need for duplication and repetition, and that was the reason for the decree to incorporate this department with the other two departments. In addition, he indicated that there was a University Council and a Higher Council for al-Azhar that formulates legislation for the university. Besides, graduates of the Department of Islamic Media are not real media professionals because they have not studied all of the media courses that they should have studied.

Youth Crisis Viewed As 'Most Serious Problem'

93AF0100B Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 20 Sep 92 p 11

[Text] The youth crisis is the most serious and dangerous problem in Egypt. In fact, all our problems, such as those of loans, unemployment, the state of cultural vacuum, intellectual loss, and religious extremism, are parts of the youth problem.

The nation has neglected its youth at all levels, resulting in the existence of generations of wronged youth, whose fate has been to live through these difficult circumstances. These are the generations that paid the price for loans and interests...war and peace, socialism and open-door policy...stealing and looting, and the disruption of values. These generations are losing their future, paying for mistakes that they have not contributed in making. It has been the fate of these generations to find that previous generations had abandoned everything...the past, present and future. This is the generation of youth that is faced with fake history, untrue heroes, obsolete mottoes, and compromises in practically everything, such as intellect and politics.... This generation has been sold in profitable deals by older generations to those who deal in drugs, cheap art, and all kinds of obscenity.

This was the end passage in the introduction of a book titled *Youth at the Wrong Time*, by the poet Faruq Juwaydah. Further, words from within the book were fired like bullets that hit our hearts and made us stop and reflect on what has happened. We are thus appalled by what has happened, is happening, and will happen tomorrow. We are perplexed, surprised. We turn the pages of the book and review the worries....

Political and Religious Vacuum

This title probably represents the biggest shots contained in the book, therefore it is placed at the beginning. Faruq

Juwaydah, a poet and the author of the book, says: "Religious extremism is currently one of our most dangerous issues and has particular sensitivity. Approaching this issue has become a kind of big adventure, as though one is approaching a mine that has a strong blast. Perhaps this is due to the fact that this issue has remained for a long time like a tongue of fire, with a lot of smoke rising out of it, while the fire remains underneath, increasing in its glow and strength day after day." The writer believes that this issue has been treated either very cautiously or very violently and outrageously, with the result that it has not been treated objectively.

The writer further believes that many facets of extremism have been international phenomena. World youth began to be subjected to extremism when it faced spiritual poverty, materialism, the overwhelming scientific progress, and the increase in the quantity of information. Therefore, this world youth found itself surrounded by all of these developments, which made it lose much of its human facets. As for Egyptian youth, the state of political vacuum in which it found itself has been one of the most important factors that has affected its behavior. This political vacuum has become very prevalent since the 1967 military defeat, when the failure of the single-party system became obvious. In fact, the single-party system could not contain the youths' ambitions and their aspiration for change at that time. In the aftermath of this confrontation, great numbers of youths found their way to the darkness of prisons, under the umbrella of either religious or leftist movements. Other young people were caught in the whirlwind of depression or helplessness. A third group joined underground movements. The military defeat, with all that accompanied it in the form of lost dreams and the tearing apart of youth, was the first encounter that our youths confronted, in perplexity.

The poet makes several stops. He stops in front of the cultural vacuum. He finds that authority tried to create confrontations among the different streams of thought and had recruited some who were ready to play the roles of bringing about those confrontations, even encouraging them. Eventually, the historical massacre came about, when Egypt, through many of its writers, faced the destruction of all political and intellectual emblems. At this point in time, youth found itself, at all levels, with no role model.

The third stop is at the economic problem, which is the major reason for extremism and which Faruq Juwaydah finds has some of its roots buried in the wars that Egypt fought and the burdens of wars that it carried.

The author starts one chapter of his book with these words: "I wish we could delete from our thoughts the idea of extremist youth and replace it with lost youth.... If the land has lost its fertility, and palm trees have become cacti, then we should ask very honestly...how did that happen and why?" He ends the chapter by stating his belief that the state has been behind extremism and has used violent security as a solution, believing it to be

quicker and more effective in stopping extremism. While this confrontation was taking place, there existed a naive media and cultural organizations that presented erotic art, which hurt the youth's feelings and upset their innocence. Furthermore, unemployment—which closed the doors to the future—was the result of the recession. Subsequently, dreams, work, and the family were all gone. Millions of college graduates were unemployed. Moreover, figures pointed at 6 million unemployed youth by the year 2000. The writer goes on to treat the no-confidence issue. He believes that there has been a big gap in the Egyptian political arena for a long time and that the different political organizations have not filled the vacuum in which youth presently find themselves.

We continue going along with the writer. Worries pile up until they reach great heights at the end of the book. Along with the writer, we question ourselves about the eccentricity that has infected our life. Then we turn to Egypt's brain, and we speak about how much has been spent on the African tournament and how much on Egypt's culture? Along with the writer, we end up discussing whose responsibility it is to revive Egyptian awareness? Along with our poet, we look for the absent power, and we go back to the first lyrics. It is a vicious circle that has no end.

We repeat the words of the introduction:

"Our youth...it encountered all kinds of brokers, and in every direction.

- The brokers of the written word, who sell the written word and the conscience.
- Political brokers, who sell nations and fates.
- Land brokers, who sell the past and the present.

We need to stand by this exasperated generation in the face of the deluge.

IRAQ

Alleged Story Behind Book by Sa'd Al-Bazzaz

93AE0057A SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI
in Arabic 22 Oct 92 pp 1, 6

[Text] London—Observers in the Jordanian capital, where the Iraqi media is expected to publish a book about the Gulf war, wonder about the significance of putting the name of Sa'd al-Bazzaz, of all the regime's media people, on this particular book's cover.

The observers recall the news reports early this year about a "new media plan" by the [Iraqi] regime based on "rearranging" the information sources and channels in a number of Arab capitals, beginning with Jordan. The aim is to try to "contain" the international campaign against Saddam Husayn and his regime. The observers said the plan provides for replacing the "exhausted" names with new ones, particularly since the scandal of

the bribes given to some journalists who have undertaken to propagate the regime's ideas, policies, and allegations abroad was exposed.

Dissident Iraqi sources said putting the name of Sa'd al-Bazzaz on the cover of the book titled "War Begets War," which actually was prepared by the "National Media Bureau" at the Revolution Command Council [RCC] under the supervision of Tariq 'Aziz, was not without reason, nor was it outside the plan in question, which, it was said then, had faltered. This was after Saddam was forced to succumb to the threats by the West to withdraw his forces and heavy weapons from the northern areas facing the Kurds and the coalition forces, at which time he appeared in his weakest condition.

A dissident of the ruling party in Iraq told SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI that Tariq 'Aziz complained that journalists working in the local media are "evading responsibility." Several steps were taken as a result of this complaint, including appointing 'Udayy, Saddam's son, head of the Journalists Union. This was preceded by an intense campaign against Information Minister Yusuf Hamada and Sabah Yasin, doyen of journalists, which was led by 'Udayy in his newspaper BABIL. The sources affirm that Sa'd al-Bazzaz has played an important role in these steps, receiving his orders from Tariq 'Aziz, who in turn receives his order from Saddam Husayn.

But the Iraqi dissident refers in particular to al-Bazzaz's old "story." It is known that he can easily be bribed and gagged. It is also easy to use his name in a "complex" media operation whose objective is to absolve Saddam of the responsibility for the disaster, while blaming it on everybody else. He says al-Bazzaz's quiet and "ambivalent" demeanor aroused the distrust of Saddam and his intelligence agents, who considered this as a "black mark" that could conceal a desire to cross to the other camp.

In this regard, the dissident recalls storms that have hit al-Bazzaz's "family," which were a means of blackmailing and subduing him so that he would yield to the ruler's desire.

In 1987, officers in the presidential palace assigned to protecting Qusayy, Saddam Husayn's [second] son, kidnapped Fatin Hasan, a young announcer and the wife of Sa'd al-Bazzaz, a member of the National Media Bureau and chief of the newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH. After 48 hours in a palace on Umm al-Khanazir Island, the wife was released, after pledging to remain silent about what happened on the island, which has witnessed similar incidents. Sa'd al-Bazzaz was unable to do anything other than take his wife away from her television job and keep her at home. He later took her abroad for treatment and recuperation, in order to wipe out the shame the "leader's" officers caused him.

But, as the dissident says, the matter did not stop here. The security forces kidnapped Suhad Hasan, his [al-Bazzaz's] wife's sister, a well-known broadcaster in Iraq.

The brother-in-law was unable to intervene or enquire about her, after realizing that what the intelligence did was part of the operation to subdue him. Instead of Suhad Hasan appearing in one of the officers' homes, she appeared in jail with a 10-year sentence on charges of "insulting the president." In fact, all that she did was make a single technical television remark about the president's speech. The president is above criticism, according to a law issued by the leader himself. While Suhad Hasan spent many lonely years in the women's section of Abu-Gharib prison with her baby girl, Sa'd al-Bazzaz was swallowing humiliation and overcoming it with a unique "skill", in order to spare himself rigors of the law that makes "publishing" sentences passed against the "traitors" obligatory, in order to involve a large circle of their families and kinsfolk in the matter. According to the dissident, Suhad Hasan won the sympathy of the president, who began to have confidence in his disgraced lackey. He released her, along with other young people. Western hostages who were with her in jail told many sad stories about her.

Assembly Speaker Salih on New Session Topics
93AE0128A Baghdad ALIF BA' in Arabic 4 Nov 92
pp 8-9

[Interview with Sa'di Mahdi Salih by Ilham 'Abd-al-Karim in Baghdad; date not given: "New Session To Discuss Plans for Press Law and Governorates Law"]

[Text] In a few days, this Saturday to be exact, the National Assembly will begin its two-month fall session.

Citizens are usually curious to know what matters the Assembly will discuss and how the legislation it will pass will affect their lives and the issues on their mind under the difficult conditions caused by the unjust blockade imposed on our dear country.

ALIF BA' conducted this interview with Sa'di Mahdi Salih, the speaker of the National Assembly.

Breaking the Blockade

[Abd-al-Karim] What is the most important topic for the National Assembly in the upcoming session?

[Salih] The National Assembly, as a government institution, is busy seeking out the forms and peculiarities that make us, as Iraqis, capable of confronting the 30-headed threat [i.e., the war] and its results. The strength of the spirit of victory that we won in this historic battle, led by President Commander Saddam Husayn, God preserve him, with supreme courage and audacity, and wisdom and farsightedness, is proof of our exceptional ability to prepare for eventualities and confront them.

The current course for Iraq is to rebuild what the aggression destroyed and to break the blockade from within by finding substitutes in our country for many of the items that were supplied by sources abroad. [end Salih]

The president of the National Assembly indicated that the speeches and directives of the president, God preserve him, had set forth the general principles and broad lines for this policy. The National Assembly, as a national institution, is involved in this and will discharge its responsibility in this regard. Therefore, it has undertaken, along with other institutions, the task of following up the implementation of the president's directives with the relevant parties, whether at the ministry level or below. On this basis, specialized committees have been set up in the Assembly, in meetings with the ministers, and have reviewed the ministries' plans to implement the directive. Of course, the committees also play their part in offering proposals to the ministries so that they may take part in offering national service to realize the goals mentioned in the president's letter.

Inviting Interested Parties

The speaker of the National Assembly added that it was normal for the committees to prepare their reports in light of these meetings and visits, and to show them to the commission of the Speaker of the National Assembly. If the speaker of the National Assembly deems it necessary to invite the interested parties, they will be invited to attend coming sessions, in accordance with the law, to discuss the contents of the committees' reports with the Assembly, with the goal of achieving service to the nation and the people.

One of the ways in which the National Assembly has dealt in its session to confront the challenges has been to issue communiques and set out positions on the Security Council's criminal resolutions, the sometimes biased conduct of the inspection committees, and the erroneous positions of some countries versus Iraq. These communiques usually set out the view of the Iraqi people, and the view of [passage illegible] the criminal sanctions imposed on Iraq, even after all the justifications for maintaining it have disappeared.

The other means is to take part in regular meetings held by parliamentary federations, especially the Union of Arab Parliaments, the International Parliamentary Union, and the European Parliament, and in action to promote Iraq's point of view and explain the dimensions of the conspiracy against it and its people and to ask these parliaments and federations to take a firm and clear stand on Iraq's cause.

Guests of the National Assembly

The speaker of the National Assembly reviewed other means by which the National Assembly has played its patriotic role at this critical juncture. He said that the Assembly had issued invitations to the parliaments of the world, asking its members to visit Iraq and see firsthand the suffering of the Iraqi people and the degree of destruction the inflicted by the cruel aggressor upon Iraq, with the belief that when they see the truth for themselves, they will take a position in support of the truth, with which they may support their views when

they have returned to their countries. Some parliaments have responded and sent parliamentary delegations, which visited Iraq and left with the view that injustice was inflicted on Iraq and its people. So they supported the demand that the unjust blockade on Iraq be lifted, especially the criminal sanction that was and still is imposed on Iraq and its valorous, steadfast people.

Plans for this Session

[Abd-al-Karim] What are the most important plans for laws to be discussed in the upcoming session?

[Salih] We hope, in the coming period, to discuss the new laws for the governorates and for the press and publishing. [end Salih]

The speaker of the National Assembly added that the Assembly had discussed important plans for laws in its last session, and they had been legislated in the form of laws covering most peoples' issues and problems.

[Abd-al-Karim] What role will the Assembly play in achieving stability in the market to guarantee the success of the special resolution to eliminate imported luxury goods and open the field for nationally produced goods as an alternative, to break the blockade from within?

[Salih] This is a great responsibility for state institutions, citizens, and merchants, especially. Our hope in our brothers the merchants is great, that they will appreciate the conditions of their country and their people, that they will fix a limited profit margin and continue to sell at a reasonable profit. The volume of business and constant profit will make profits accumulate over time, thus compensating them.

By doing this, merchants will have provided a great national service to their fellow citizens, who are experiencing hard times.

Assessing the Ministries' Activities

[Abd-al-Karim] Does the National Assembly intend to announce a performance assessment of the ministries to show the extent to which they serve the public?

[Salih] It is currently the practice of the National Assembly to express thanks to the quarters that have done their job for the nation and its citizens in a satisfactory fashion and also to offer developmental proposals that help to broaden the range of their services, to alert those with inadequacies and invite to debate the causes of their inferior performance.

I would like to take this opportunity to talk about the visits to state institutions that are being undertaken by the specialized committees, which have nothing to do with inspections. We are assessing the country's current conditions. We know that the ministries are doing their utmost, with all they have and with what is possible—there being no room for the word impossible—but we see

these visits as a step toward effective participation, along with all of the other parties in the cause of confronting the current challenges.

[Abd-al-Karim] Does the National Assembly intend to acquaint citizens with the special debates related to the ministries that are concerned with direct service to the citizens?

[Salih] The media have asked to cover these activities in detail, because that would be a wonderful service. The clarifying responses, when they come to the people, will have certain views and convictions. If the response is positive, they will support the ministry, and if it is negative, they will be a force for pressure to raise the standard of the ministry's work. For the media to take part in an expanded way, in presenting the National Assembly debates to the public, is an important matter and will have positive effects.

JORDAN

Report Lists 'Forefront' Parties, Funding Plans

93AE0054A Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 3 Oct 92
p 2

[Article by Nabil Ghayshan]

[Excerpts] Political parties and proposed parties now find themselves face to face with a new stage: they are facing a difficult test to prove their existence. They have one of two things to choose from: either come forward to the Directorate of Party Affairs at the Ministry of Interior in order to apply for an official license according to the rules of the new law, or dissolve the party because the law prohibits party activities before an official permit is obtained. [passage omitted]

The question of financing will remain to be one of the most important technical difficulties the parties will face, particularly because the law bans receiving assistance from non-Jordanian sources. The parties are now in a cross fire between the law and the lack of funds, which will lead to freezing party activities within one year at the latest. Consequently, certain voices have been demanding that the government provide financial assistance to the parties so they can carry out their tasks without seeking aid from abroad.

A veteran party politician said: An average party would require no less than 20,000 dinars a year in order to cover its expenses, publish a simple monthly, and pay the cost of publications, telegrams, telephones, faxes, communications, fuel, and electricity, as well as the expenses of rallies and elections, plus the salaries of full-time employees.

The question of funding has prompted many parties to seriously consider entering the world of investment projects in order to ensure a steady income to finance their activities. They are also considering a system by

which their investments and funds can be protected against any eventualities, particularly party rifts.

A new party leader said the new law is aimed at organizing affairs of the parties that existed before the law was enacted. Some of these parties have a financial base and possess active economic and social institutes. They include the Islamic Movement (the Muslim Brotherhood), the parties that split with the PLO, or the parties that were established by former government officials. [passage omitted]

As for the Islamic movement, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, it appears that they are the ones most wary of severing their ties abroad. For this reason the group announced the establishment of the Islamic Front Action Party in cooperation with some of the independents in order to maintain the Muslim Brotherhood organization outside the law on parties and, consequently, maintain the Muslim Brotherhood's ties with the command headquarters in Cairo headed by Hamid Abu-al-Nasr. It is not yet known how the law will deal with this case. There is a strong belief in the party and press circles that the following parties will be in the forefront of the new party map:

The Islamic Action Front (the Muslim Brotherhood), the Pledge Party, the Jordanian People's Democratic Party, the Jordanian Progressive Democratic Party, the Jordanian Nationalist Grouping, the Awakening [al-yaqazah] Party, and the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party (Iraq). This is in addition to other parties that are still discussing the question of unification and merger.

Apparently, more than 40 parties will have very little chance to enjoy becoming public parties and obtain the necessary permits, or even maintain their present status. These parties, particularly the nationalist ones, are left with the only choice of working out a new unification formula with parties of similar thoughts and beliefs.

Predictions indicate that the Islamic Liberation Party will not submit an official application according to the law because of ideological reasons. Therefore, the Liberation Party is expected to maintain its previous clandestine character, although in the 1950's it had a permit and a deputy in the Chamber of Deputies.

Gold, Hard Currency Balance \$5 Billion

93AE0054D Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 4 Oct 92
pp 1, 24

[Article by Muhammad Amin]

[Text] The kingdom's gold and hard currency balance has shown a remarkable increase during the first seven months of this year, with the total at the end of last July reaching 3,229,309,000 dinars, approximately \$5 billion, compared with 2,941,363,000 dinars at the end of 1991, representing an increase of 387.946 million dinars.

Latest official figures available show that the Jordanian Central Bank's gold and hard currency balance at the end of July this year totaled 1,080,549,000 dinars, compared with 949.071 million dinars by the end of last year, an increase of 131.478 million dinars.

A breakdown of the figures shows that the Jordanian Central Bank's gold balance at the end of July totaled 70.71 million dinars, while its balance in foreign currency totaled 636.412 million dinars, compared with 556.641 million at the end of 1991. The Central Bank's foreign debts in accordance with payment agreements in foreign currencies at the end of last July totaled 373.930 million dinars, compared with 322.067 million dinars at the end of last year. The Central Bank's balance of special withdrawal rights totaled 136,000 dinars.

The total balance of foreign currencies with licensed banks last July totaled 2,244,212,000 dinars, compared with 1,986,595,000 dinars at the end of last year, that is an increase—in seven months—of 257.617 million dinars. The balance of financial institutes at the end of July this year reached 4.548 million dinars.

Foreign Currency Deposits Total \$7-9 Billion

93AE0034A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
15 Oct 92 p 9

[Report from Amman: "Foreign Currency Deposits By Jordanians Total \$7-9 Billion"]

[Text] 'Abdallah al-Malki, executive director of the Jordanian Bankers Association, estimated that Jordanian holdings of convertible foreign currencies amount to between \$7 and \$9 billion, not counting the reserves of Jordan's Central Bank.

Of that amount, he said, \$5 billion are deposits in accounts with the Jordanian banking system. The remainder is in the form of unofficial offshore deposits.

He added that special drawing rights (SDR's) are meeting the needs of savers under the current circumstances of the international money market, which is in turmoil and constant flux. SDR's have the added attraction of being both legal and secure.

Dr. al-Malki classified depositors in two categories. Those who seek to speculate in foreign currencies are constantly engaged in buying and selling at narrow margins. Their fortunes therefore depend on daily developments, and there is no point in giving them advice.

Depositors of the second category seek a dependable return on their foreign currency deposits without exposure to excessive exchange rate risk. He advised the people in this group to exchange their funds into the so-called special drawing rights, which are a world currency composed of [a basket of] five international currencies—the dollar, the mark, the yen, the franc, and the pound sterling—at different ratios. SDR's are relatively stable because a drop in the value of one component will

be counterbalanced by a rise in the value of another. SDR interest rates are also reasonable because they are pegged at the average of the interest rates on its five currency components.

First Quarter Trade Deficit 294 Million Dinars

93AE0054B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 4 Oct 92 p 10

[Text] Amman—Official figures on Jordanian foreign trade show that the value of exports during the first three months of the year totalled 152.519 million dinars. Imports during the same period totalled 446.795 million dinars. This indicates that the deficit in the Jordanian trade balance during the first quarter of this year totalled 294,276,000 dinars.

At the same time, deposits with licensed banks by the end of the first half of the year totalled 4.310 billion dinars, compared with 3.285 billion dinars during the same period last year.

This shows that deposits have increased at the rate of more than 100 million dinars monthly.

The official figures show that the estimated total of the private sector's deposits is 2.727 billion dinars. The unestimated private sector's deposits totalled 1.196 billion dinars, which exceeds the deposits that were available at the same time last year by 622.192 million dinars.

Income Tax: 92 Million Dinars in 9 Months

92AE0054C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 4 Oct 92 p 3

[Text] Amman—Mansur Haddadin, director general of the Income Tax Department, said that tax collection by the department from the beginning of this year to the end of September totalled 92,072,218 dinars, compared with 79,752,954 dinars during the same period in 1991. Thus collections have increased by 12,319,264 dinars, a 15 percent increase. Haddadin said the department's total collections during September were 6,170,073 dinars, compared with 5,754,069 collected during the same month last year.

The income tax director general praised the citizens' response to the department's measures and their cooperation in meeting their financial obligations. He urged the citizens whose financial conditions do not enable them to pay their dues in full to call at the tax offices in order to benefit from payment plans that the department may arrange for them.

Private Sector Negotiating To Build Aqaba Port

93AE0034C London AL-WASAT in Arabic 5 Oct 92 p 43

[Report from Amman: "Private Sector To Build New Ports"]

[Text] Preparations are under way in Jordan for the private sector's entry into the field of investing in port facilities.

Private reports indicate that the Jordanian National Ports Authority has begun negotiations for the construction of the first such facility, which will be managed and funded by the Jordanian private sector in the Gulf of Aqaba region on the Red Sea. Work on the project will begin with the onset of the new year.

The reports indicate that the Ports Authority is negotiating with two consortia. The first is composed of maritime transport agents in collaboration with some businessmen and financiers. The second is composed of investors who are active in the industrial sector.

The purpose of the negotiations is to reach agreement on building the new port in the Gulf of Aqaba and how it is to be funded. The port is one of three ports scheduled to be constructed and funded by the private sector over the next three years. The new port is estimated to cost some 20 million dinars (about \$27 million), which will be guaranteed by the public sector in return for the right to invest for a specific time period.

Amman Public Transportation To Be Privatized

93AE0034B London AL-WASAT in Arabic 5 Oct 92 p 43

[Report from Amman: "Jordan's Public Transportation Authority To Be Privatized"]

[Text] Jordan's Public Transportation Authority has decided to transfer to the private sector a project to transport passengers within the capital of Amman and from Amman to other major cities. It used to be a public authority that was managed and funded by the public sector.

In order to facilitate privatization, the authority has divided the project into 10 investment units in order to make it easier for financiers to invest in specific sections. The divisions focus on areas within Amman. Dedicated companies will therefore be created for each borough and for intracity transportation.

The Jordanian authority recently took delivery of 50 South Korean buses, which have already been put into service.

That measure, even though limited, reflects increasing propensity by the Jordanian Government to promote private-sector participation in the services sector as a preliminary step toward involving it with other, more sensitive sectors, according to Minister of Finance Basil Jaradah.

Unionist Describes Shipping Losses From Sanctions

93AE0034D London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 12 Oct 92
p 10

[Report from Amman by Salah Hazine: "Director of Maritime Shipping Agents Union: Halt In Transit Trade With Iraq Results in National Incomes Losses of 295 Million Dinars"]

[Text] Sufian al-Muhaysin, director of the Maritime Shipping Agents Union, said that the partial idling of the Port of Aqaba has resulted in national income losses of about 295 million dinars (\$440.3 million) for 1991 and the first eight months of 1992 combined. He added in an interview with AL-HAYAH that his estimates were calculated on the assumption that every ton that enters the Port of Aqaba results in a 25-dinar profit to the Jordanian national income through the various activities of the shipping sector.

Al-Muhaysin said the figure includes losses from the shrinking volume of shipments into Aqaba, which experienced a decrease [from 1989] of 2.375 million tons in 1990, then slid further by about 4.5 million tons in 1991, and by another 2.5 million tons in 1992.

He added that the decline in shipments caused the Jordanian economy to suffer losses of 116 million dinars in 1991. The halt in transit traffic between Jordan and Iraq during the first eight months of this year inflicted further losses of 60 million dinars on national income. He added that transit traffic between the two countries was normal until just before the Gulf crisis. Goods in transit through the port on their way to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, or other Gulf countries were only a minute fraction of those headed for Iraq. He estimated transit trade losses at about 12 million dinars in 1990, 28.8 million dinars in 1991, and 19.2 million dinars in the first eight months of 1992.

He explained that those figures did not account for the various types of losses suffered by Jordanian merchants, and consequently by consumers, as a result of inspection measures instituted by international maritime inspection forces. He explained that the problem began with an upward spiral of insurance rates as the Gulf crisis developed, which reached fantastic heights as the war broke out in mid-January 1991.

He added that high insurance rates have been reflected in shipping charges, which shot upward, affecting Jordanian imports as well as exports. There was a time when Jordan could not entice vessels to enter Aqaba to take aboard Jordan's exports of phosphates and potash. He further added that major Jordanian firms, in order to preserve their market share, took to paying the high insurance premiums and absorbing the losses, especially after some maritime shipping lines stopped serving Jordan. Only 16 such lines, out of an original 41, continued to serve Jordan, clearly affecting regular Jordanian exports.

Al-Muhaysin said that maritime shipping agents in Jordan thought that matters would return to normal after the war but that new problems, such as the operations of the inspection forces, began to develop.

In March 1991, after firing ceased in the Gulf region, international inspection forces issued strict instructions to vessels headed for Aqaba. The most significant of those instructions mandates that the ships maintain interior corridors to enable inspectors to go below ship and ascertain that the cargo does not exceed two decks in height. This meant that 30 to 40 percent of cargo space would go unused, and shippers consequently levied what they called vessel inspection fees, which they added to the total shipping costs paid by merchants and passed on to Jordanian consumers.

Al-Muhaysin added that inspection fees amount to \$500 per 20-foot container, \$1,000 per 40-foot container, and \$10 to \$15 per cubic meter of other regular freight. For shipments originating in the Far East, inspection fees amount to \$300 for 20-foot containers and \$600 for 40-foot containers. Jordan's National Maritime Lines charges \$750 per 20-foot container and \$1,500 per 40-foot container.

He explained that inspection fees caused maritime shipping agents suffered aggregate losses of some \$23 million in 1991 and about \$15 million for the first eight months of this year, not counting losses to Jordan's national income.

Al-Muhaysin said that other losses were incurred because inspection forces do not allow ships to cross their checkpoints except at certain times of the day, discouraging tourist traffic from nearby ports and consequently hurting the tourism industry. Changes in shipping routes, which now terminate at Aqaba rather than originate there, have also had a negative impact. If, for example, inspection forces objected to the way a ship was laden, that ship would have to head for another port to rearrange its cargo before returning to Aqaba.

He added that this affects mostly sales contracts that are consummated on the high seas because they are frequently challenged by inspection forces, forcing ships to depart the port for another and thereby incurring additional expenses, which drain the profits out of such deals.

Al-Muhaysin touched on the frequent discussions among Jordan, the United States, and international inspection forces, saying that the issue was raised at every visit by U.S. Secretary of States James Baker, who always promised to act on it, but to no result.

He added that Jordan's King Husayn raised the issue with President George Bush in mid-March and that an international forces delegation visited Jordan last May to look into the problem. They were stunned at the facts presented to them and promised to respond, but again to no result.

The only development was a new set of instructions issued 28 September that mailing addresses and geographic locations on the shipments would be sufficient to let them pass into Aqaba without need to also indicate the telephone, telex, and fax numbers or the rest of the previous requirements.

He said that this did not alleviate the losses much because "we now observe those instructions meticulously for fear of incurring even more losses."

KUWAIT

Officials Debate Legality of Amir's Decrees

National Assembly Abrogation

93AE0065A London SAWT AL-KUWAYT
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 9 Oct 92 pp 1,6

[Article by 'A'id al-Manna' and 'Abdallah al-Shammari: "National Assembly Can Abrogate Any Law Issued Since Its Dissolution"]

[Excerpt] The Cabinet at its session two days ago approved an edict repealing Section 35B of the Press and Publications Act. The section permitted the information minister and the cabinet to ban newspapers administratively or take away their licenses.

A responsible source told SAWT AL-KUWAYT that the edict has been submitted to the amir's office and will be published in two days in the official gazette, AL-KUWAYT AL-YAWM.

In a related matter, the source stated that Section 71 of the Kuwaiti Constitution stipulates that all laws passed during the period when the National Assembly was dissolved shall be submitted to the new Assembly at its first session, which will be held on Tuesday, 30 October. He explained that if these laws are not approved when submitted to the Assembly, they will be considered abrogated retroactively, along with whatever force of law they possessed.

The source recalled what happened in 1981, when all the laws passed during the period of the dissolution of the previous Assembly were submitted at the first session of the 1981 Assembly. The Assembly approved these laws at its first session, which was left open and not adjourned until after the election of the Assembly's speaker, deputy speaker, and committees. The same responsible source said that Section 35B of the Press and Publications Act, which was added to the law after the dissolution of the Assembly in 1986, was repealed because it is no longer needed. He indicated that the judicial system is the authority empowered to deal with any charges concerning what is written or said in the press.

The source stated that one could consider this repeal to be the crowning of Kuwaiti press freedom.

It should be mentioned that the provisions of this section were never enforced in the past and that no newspaper was ever banned. [passage omitted]

Law Dean's Opinion

93AE0065B London SAWT AL-KUWAYT
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 11 Oct 92 pp 1-2

[Article by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Qadir: "'Uthman 'Abd-al-Malik Says Laws Issued After Dissolution of Assembly Are Binding"]

[Text] Constitutional expert and dean of the Kuwait University Law Faculty, Dr. 'Uthman 'Abd-al-Malik, said that the amir's 1986 decrees suspending parliamentary life and halting the enforcement of some constitutional provisions gave the amir and the Cabinet the power to exercise legislative authority by edicts that had the force of law. The new government therefore is not obligated to submit these edicts to the new National Assembly. Dr. 'Abd-al-Malik was replying to a question from SAWT AL-KUWAYT about the future of the edicts.

Government Need Not Submit Edicts to Assembly

What will become of the edicts issued on the basis of the amir's decrees dissolving the National Assembly, suspending parliamentary life, and halting the enforcement of some constitutional provisions?

SAWT AL-KUWAYT put this question to constitutional expert and dean of the Kuwait University Law Faculty, Professor 'Uthman 'Abd-al-Malik. He replied: "We would point out, first of all, that the amir's 1986 decrees suspending parliamentary activity and halting the enforcement of the constitutional provisions essential to the parliament empowered the amir and the Cabinet to exercise legislative authority by edicts having the force of law."

He added: "Some court rulings in Egypt, supported by a considerable body of jurisprudence, have held that 'these edicts are laws in the [full] sense of the term.' It follows that after the return of parliamentary life after its suspension, the government is not obligated to submit them to the National Assembly, because they are laws, not emergency measures taken by the government under Section 71 of the Constitution. Edicts issued when the Constitution is changed or collapses can be abrogated only by laws passed by the National Assembly, just as with other parliamentary legislation."

'Abd-al-Malik went on to say: "Although we do not agree with this view that several Egyptian jurists have continued to follow the lead of the Egyptian Court of Cassation in this regard,¹ we point it out because the government may take this position and not submit to the next National Assembly the edicts it adopted while the Assembly was dissolved and constitutional provisions changed. Therefore, the Assembly will have no alternative but to pass normal laws to repeal such edicts."

He added: "However, if the government holds that it adopted these edicts under the provisions of Section 71 of the Constitution—that is, as emergency edicts, even though the constitutional conditions and criteria stipulated in Section 71 of the Constitution were not present—then, if these edicts are in fact submitted to the Assembly as emergency edicts, the Assembly will exercise its oversight over them. In particular, it will monitor whether a condition of pressing emergency was present to justify the issuance of the edicts submitted to it. The Assembly on that basis may take one of the following positions:²

- It may reject them as of the day it makes its decision, while confirming any applications of them that have actually taken place.
- It may reject them as of the day of their issuance, but hold that the effects consequent upon them should be valid in some way or other, as the Assembly sees fit.
- It may reject them along with their past effects. In that case, any force of law they possessed will cease retroactively.
- It may approve them. In that case, they will be confirmed finally and become part of the country's legal system, subject to the same provisions as apply to laws passed by the parliament."

'Abd-al-Malik added: "One should point out that although the Constitution fixes time periods within which such edicts must be submitted to the National Assembly, it does not fix a time within which the National Assembly must decide on the edict submitted to it. However, Section 112 of the National Assembly's internal rules, Section 71 of the Constitution, and the circumstances of the case at hand imply that the National Assembly should render a decision on the submitted edicts as quickly as possible and that they should be classified as urgent matters when considered in committee and in the Assembly itself.

"In any case, the Kuwaiti Constitution sets no deadline for the National Assembly to decide about edicts submitted to it. Therefore, the absence of a decision by the Assembly, no matter how long a time this lasts, does not render these edicts constitutionally defective. The constitution does not stipulate that a decision be issued by the Assembly within a definite period supporting these edicts; it merely requires that these edicts possess a basis of legitimacy in this respect by being submitted to the National Assembly within the time period fixed by the Constitution. The edicts remain in force as long as the Assembly does not decide to reject them. The passage of several years after the issuance of the edict without a decision from the Assembly has no effect according to this view.³

"The fact of the matter is that the constitutional legislator ought to have regulated this case so that the status of these edicts might not remain unresolved; for, despite their actual validity, they are subject to rejection and loss of legal force.

"Furthermore, Section 110 of the National Assembly's internal rules requires that voting on edicts take place by roll call, whereas the general rule is to poll opinions by a show of hands. Section 112 of the rules indicates that no motion to amend the text of an edict shall be accepted in committee or in the Assembly. This means that the Assembly's role is limited to approving these edicts as a whole or rejecting them as a whole; no amendment of them in any way can be accepted from it.

"Finally, one should note that such edicts are accepted and approved by a simple majority of the Assembly. As for their rejection, Section 114 of the Assembly's internal rules adds a provision not in the Constitution and provides that 'they may be rejected only by a majority of the members of whom the Assembly is composed.'

"This provision is of dubious constitutionality, as it stipulates for the rejection of an edict a special majority not provided in the Constitution itself. Furthermore, this provision endows these edicts with an immunity and force not possessed by ordinary laws, which can be repealed by simple majority. At the same time, the maximum force that the Constitution gives to these edicts is that the force of their obligation rises to the level of the law and that they have the same force as the law has."⁴

Constitutional expert 'Abd-al-Malik ended his conversation with SAWT AL-KUWAYT by saying: "Our conclusion is that we have two possibilities:

"The government may decide to take the position that these edicts should be considered laws and that it is not obligated to submit them to the Assembly, as mentioned earlier. In this case, the task of the National Assembly will be more difficult. In order to repeal any of them, it will be forced to issue a law passed in accordance with the procedures stipulated by the Constitution and the internal rules in this regard, including the government's right of assent and review—the right to veto, according to Sections 65 and 66 of the Constitution.

"Or the government may consider them to be emergency edicts in accordance with Section 71 of the Constitution. In this case, the Assembly may repeal them by decisions made in accordance with the details we have previously explained."

Footnotes

1. They include the jurist Dr. Sulayman Muhammad al-Tamawi in his work, *Al-Qararat al-Idariyah*, third edition, 1966, pp. 513 ff. See the rulings he mentions in this regard.

2. The Kuwaiti constitutional legislator was fortunate in explicitly stipulating that such edicts lose legal force retroactively if they are not submitted to parliament or if they are submitted and rejected. This decided a disagreement among jurists about whether nonsubmission or Parliamentary rejection were retroactive in regard to the effects consequent upon edicts if the constitution does

not stipulate this. Among the jurists who do not hold that they lose force retroactively is Dr. Isma'il Mirzah, *ibid.*, p. 298. Other jurists hold a different view; see Kamil Laylah, *ibid.*, *Al-Qanun al-Dusturi*, p. 433. A position close to this was held by the late al-Sayyid Sabri, Cairo, 1944, pp. 91 ff.

3. This is what the Libyan Supreme Court decided in its 11 February 1962 ruling on constitutional challenge 2/5 previously mentioned.

4. For a similar point of view, see Yahya al-Jamal, *ibid.*, pp. 224-25; and 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, *ibid.*, p. 201. See the differing opinion of Dr. Ahmad Kamal Abu-al-Majd in his aforementioned memoranda, pp. 1, 21. The following are considered applications of emergency edicts:

- Edict 1/1975, implementing the decisions of the Rabat Arab summit.
- Edict 2/1975, on aid to relieve the earthquake disaster in Pakistan.
- Edict 3/1975, amending some provisions of Law 15/1960 on commercial companies.
- Published in the official journal, supplement to issue 1015, 17 January 1965, 21st year, pp. 1 ff.

We would indicate in this regard that although the great majority of jurists believe that section 114 of the National Assembly's internal rules is unconstitutional, the Constitutional Court in a ruling issued on 11 July 1981 decided that the section was constitutional. This ruling has been criticized by jurists.

See our comments on this ruling in the magazine AL-HUQUQ, published by the Kuwait University Faculty of Law, no. 3, September 1981, pp. 293 ff.

Salafi, Brotherhood Positions Analyzed, Compared 93AE0044A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 6 Oct 92 p 7

[Article: "Brotherhood, Salafis in Kuwait; Joint Political Program, Disputes"]

[Text] In general, Kuwaitis do not differentiate between Salafis (People's Islamic Alliance) and the Brotherhood (Constitutional Islamic Movement), except from the aspect of appearance. The Salafis have longer beards and shorter robes. As for political programs, the two groups are very close. Since the entry of the Salafis into the political arena in 1981, they have gotten close to the body of the Islamic political bloc, into which the Muslim Brotherhood preceded them. The Muslim Brotherhood got rid of this name, which does not invoke enthusiasm in Kuwait because of the Brotherhood's "anti-Kuwaiti" positions during the Gulf crisis.

The two groups agreed on most of the issues in the two Assemblies in which they participated (1981 and 1985). However, they soon differed over holding any elections, including elections of cooperative associations, which very often highlighted disputes in parliamentary elections.

Khalid al-Sultan, who is the Salafi candidate in the third district, summarized the difference between the two groups as follows: "We are more interested in the Islamic call and spreading Islam as a religion. We use politics to serve the call, while the Constitutional Islamic Movement is more immersed in politics and does not hesitate to use all political tactics."

Tactics and Disputes

Political tactics were what led to the new dispute between the two groups, from which Khalid al-Sultan himself suffered. The Brotherhood threw their weight behind Jasim al-Saqr, the nominee of the Constitutional Grouping. For the second vote, it was rumored that they would support candidate Ahmad al-Nassar, a government protege, and not Khalid al-Sultan.

The Kuwaiti press, and particularly the newspaper AL-ANBA', saw in this question an opportunity to discuss the disputes between the two groups. This paper praised the Brotherhood in its articles, so as to ultimately criticize them for supporting Jasim al-Saqr, because the newspaper and its owners, the al-Marzuq family, are in personal competition with, and wish to defeat, Jasim al-Saqr by any means, as an embarrassment for the agreement, which the "moralists" rejected, between al-Saqr and the Islamic Constitutional Movement.

Khalid al-Sultan does not differ with the positions of the Brotherhood candidates over other political issues. He "supports freedom of thought, as long as it does not injure religion or others." He calls for the Islamization of the Kuwaiti economy and supports "more liberalization, freedom from government interference, strengthening of the principle of free economy, and transferring the public sector to the private sector."

He sees no harm in dealing with liberal Kuwaiti forces, such as the Democratic Forum (previously leftist), "with regard to agreed upon questions, inasmuch as that became necessary after the Iraqi invasion. Therefore, we have not hesitated to cooperate within the framework of the Group of Seven, which brings together the most important Kuwaiti political trends."

Strong Competition

The disputes between the Salafis and the Brotherhood do not stop at the third district, but are intensified in other districts, such as the sixth, where former deputy Humud al-Rumi, a prominent member of the Brotherhood, is competing against a Salafi youth who has become very popular in the district.

Some of them see a need for coordination between the two groups, since it is expected that they will both lose to two stronger candidates. They are Mishari al-'Anjari from the Bloc of Independent Deputies, and Mishari al-'Usaymi, head of the Kuwaiti Lawyers Association. There is also more competition in the Seventh District, where 'Adil al-Sabih, who was nominated for the third

time by the Brotherhood, is running against former deputy Jasim al-'Awn, a leader of the Salafi Movement.

Observers point out the difficulty of the two groups' succeeding together, unless they agree. There is 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Adsani, former head of the Municipal Council, who depends on the votes of electors, who enabled his brother to win in the 1981 elections.

Despite the rumors about a coordination committee between the two groups, no signs of agreement to exchange votes in those districts have as yet appeared. On the contrary, there are those who say that trust is nearly nonexistent. Therefore, supporters of each group will proceed to burn their second vote, that is, vote for one candidate and, thereby, guarantee a vote for their candidate and deny his competitor the second vote.

Mutual Support

At the same time, it is not unlikely that an agreement will be reached within a few hours, especially since the Salafis have announced their support for a prominent nominee from the Brotherhood. He is 'Abbas Munawir. They have agreed to exchange support in the districts of Ahmad Baqir (Salafi) and Mubarak al-Duwaylah (Brotherhood). However, observers think that an agreement of this kind is a tautology, because of the two candidates' fate.

In outlying areas, where piety is virtually "nonpartisan," the two groups have overcome disputes and have supported the nominees of both groups or independent nominees, such as Shaykh Khalid al-'Adwah, 'Ayid 'Allush al-Mutayri, Muhammad Muhsin al-Busayri (despite differences among Salafis themselves over supporting him), Ahmad al-Harithi, and Mufarrij al-Mutayri.

Meeting Point

The certainty is that the elections are a good opportunity to open the files on personal disputes. However, relations in the National Assembly could improve, according to the view of Khalid al-Sultan, who expects the cooperation between the factions of the Islamic movement in the new assembly to be better than it was in 1985.

Khalid al-Sultan thinks that "the brothers in the Constitutional Islamic Movement and ourselves in the People's Islamic Alliance will move toward the same point, not in two transverse lines."

LIBYA

Report on Adjustment to Life Under Sanctions

93AF0067A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
15 Sep 92 p 20-25

[Article by 'Ali Anuzla: "Delay of Salaries in Libya Highlight Several Moral and Social Problems"]

[Text] The Security Council resolution has been applied against Libya for five months now. On the occasion of Libya's celebration of the anniversary of the 1 September Revolution, Colonel Qadhafi announced that his country did not have enough money to pay employees' salaries and that oil revenue was no longer sufficient. 'Ali Anuzla has lived in Libya for the past few months and has provided a picture from within. AL-MAJALLAH will publish his observations in a series.

The atmosphere appeared depressing in Tripoli on 13 September 1992. Everything here is gloomy: the narrow alleys and the streets, the walls of buildings, and the expressions on people's faces. Everything has lost its color. I strolled around Green Square, and the only greenery in it was the color of the slogans of the "First Forever" Revolution, recalling the words in the Green Book, including: "Companies, not hirelings," "Committees everywhere," and "No democracy without people's congresses." The difference struck me, when I looked at the pale faces passing by without pride in those glittering slogans.

I toured the old city of Tripoli, passing through a citadel that time had destroyed, eroded by the sea's moisture. I went into its alleyways, like subterranean vaults in a game of labyrinths. The old alleys have been turned into intertwined markets, teeming with pedestrian traffic. I sat at one of the tables in a coffee shop, run by Egyptians. I sipped the bitter Arab coffee and studied the expressions of those seated around me. They were smoking hookahs, lost in thought. The faces of people were wan. The burning rays of the sun have made them a rust color, and the revolution's songs have hardened them. Enthusiasm has been extinguished in their dispirited eyes. They spend their time in games of chess and with the crack of dominoes, with time hanging over their heads like the sword of Damocles!

What is there, in fact, to write about in Libya? When I carried my notebook enroute to Tripoli, I had no answer to my question, which continued to perplex me throughout my trip, until I found myself at the open border-crossing on a desert that stretched to the horizon. I had thought that I would encounter a barrier, investigations, and meaningless questions and answers. But, in Libya, no one was interested in questions, nor in answers. The important question in Libya is the one you ask yourself and try to answer yourself.

Therefore, from the time I settled in Libya, the questions that I asked that astonished me were: Where is the state? Where are the powers that one of the slogans says are in the hands of the people? Where is the government? Where is the administration? Where is the order in the midst of all this chaos?

Libya is losing its structure to make room for the power of anarchy, the power of the unknown. The state is not obvious to the eye, but leaves its expression to one of its ancient powers, the power of fear. It passes on parade

without a military band and without a police guard, because it lives inside each person.

Overcoming the Embargo

Four months after the trade boycott that the United Nations imposed on Libya, it is clear that the Libyans have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties that faced them at the start of the application of Resolution 748.

In the Libyan capital of Tripoli, life appears normal. Everything became calm, after the people grew accustomed to the new life under the international embargo imposed on their country. The driver of one public vehicle said that he had not noticed any change in people's lives since the international boycott was imposed on Libya in mid-April 1992. "Foreigners, mostly Arab and African, still visit our country. Prices have risen a little, but all goods are available. The people here are not afraid of high prices, as much as they fear a dearth of food."

At the border post (R'as Ajdir), which connects Libya with Tunisia, travellers pass easily through the countries of the Arab Maghreb. A worker in one of the resthouses inside Libya, on the border with Tunisia, told us that the percentage of travelers over the land routes had increased since the embargo was imposed, while a Tunisian truck driver thought that traffic carrying passengers "had decreased from what it used to be, when the embargo was declared. People, especially those who have permanent interests in Libya, were afraid of reflections of the boycott on their business. But, soon, they became used to the new life, as if nothing had happened."

On Tripoli's streets, large numbers of Libyans and foreigners mill around ticket offices of shipping companies. These offices experience feverish activity all day long. Libyans prefer to travel via sea to Malta and, from there, to their places of destination, since the trip between Tripoli and Malta, aboard one of the fast vessels that make daily trips between Tripoli and Valetta, takes only five hours.

It is not clear that the Libyans complain about present conditions, with the exception of certain youth groups, anxious to spend their holidays in European countries. They grumble because of the difficulty of obtaining tourist travel visas. One Libyan youth told us that merely submitting a visa application to the British Consulate in Valetta costs 250 Libyan dinars (about \$750!), and that he would have to pay the same amount when he returned two weeks later to learn the consulate's reply! The most upset people in these present circumstances are foreigners, who were making their living on trade between their countries and Libya, because Libyan authorities have intensified their surveillance over goods that these people were exporting to their countries. These goods consist of food commodities subsidized by the state. Furthermore, most of their business was done via air. In this regard, a Moroccan dealer told us that before the blockade he used to fly between Casablanca and Tripoli four times a month, but now, he travels by ship, which

takes four days. Traveling by sea—one way—takes more than 60 hours, during which time many inspection points are passed in Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. He is required to declare his goods at each customs post in the three countries. The sector most damaged, so far, by the international boycott is the Libyan Arab Airlines Company, which only operates at 20 percent capacity inside Libya. The company's unemployment percentage was 70 percent during the four months since the embargo was imposed. The company's monetary losses total 39.08 million dinars, the equivalent of \$117.24 million.

If Libya has not been more affected by the boycott so far, in view of its increased monetary fluidity due to oil sales, it is not expected to be very steadfast over the long haul, if the Security Council were to increase the sanctions imposed on Libya.

Black Holes in Regime's Structure

The Lockerbie crisis has revealed many black holes in the structure of the Libyan system, the most dangerous of which is perhaps that which is sapping the economy and society.

Two years ago, Libya suffered a blow to its economic policy, after its partial abandonment of its socialist economy and its confused and erratic attempts to apply a free market economy. While small contractors were opening private "partnerships" (contractual arrangements), a trend within the people's committees continued to criticize the free market system and the form of life it imposed. After 23 years of attempting to spread the culture and ideas of socialism in Libyan society, it was apparent that people were tired of talking about the socialist "paradise" and had begun to accept most of the life of the consumer societies. During the past two years, since the state has permitted individuals to open private commercial shops, small shops have spread throughout the streets and quarters of Tripoli, offering light meals in the style of "MacDonalds." There is scarcely a residential neighborhood without a club to rent and sell video tapes. In the People's Market in old Tripoli, Moroccans, Tunisians, and Egyptians offer their wares, including clothes, shoes, American cigarettes, and tape recorders. The city's streets are filled with commercial shops, recently displaying the latest Swiss and Japanese watches, Paris perfumes, and the latest novelties imported from Egypt and Greek Cyprus.

Recently, privately owned tourism companies have been established, and Libyan Television carries commercials about their services. They are like travel agencies that organize tourist trips inside Libya. Their clients are both Libyans and foreigners who are under contract with Libyan companies, especially Koreans, who number about 40,000 in Libya. Despite whatever advantages the Libyan tourist market has, it does not have the incentives to enable it to compete with its counterparts in neighboring countries, such as Egypt and Tunisia.

With regard to the planned economy, whose mechanisms are controlled by the state, a balanced economy has

recently emerged based on smuggling activities. Since the Libyans used to carry out such activities, they have discovered, as a result of their contacts with citizens of neighboring countries, the importance of the profits that could accrue to them from trafficking in prohibited goods with neighboring countries. These merchants trade in imported and state-subsidized commodities, such as tea and rice. Before the blockade was imposed on Libya, its customs authorities used to pretend not to notice the smuggling of these goods, but now, they have intensified their surveillance over border posts in the ports, in order to prevent the smuggling of these strategic commodities.

Nevertheless, Libya is spending several millions of dollars on industrial projects to increase its local production. However, it is still dependent on importing. Annually, it allocates \$250 million to import food, such as tea, rice, and milk. Despite its wealth, the most important export abroad is still limited to raw materials including sheep hides and wool, in addition to oil.

Deteriorating Health Services

Until recently, the Libyan regime used to brag about the revolution's accomplishments, especially regarding social services, such as education and health. The regime boasted that expenditures for these services took up half the annual general budget, which totaled \$6 billion. However, in view of several factors, including mismanagement and bureaucratic growth, these social services have deteriorated to the point of decay. Medical services have become just as bad as the other social services in Libya.

These services are no longer given free, as called for by the revolution. A routine visit to a public hospital requires the citizen to pay "token" fees of 5 dinars. Medicine used to be dispensed free of charge, but now, one must purchase it from pharmacies. After the embargo was imposed, these pharmacies lacked even the simplest drugs, such as headache tablets. Smuggled drugs cost twice the price outside of pharmacies.

Libyans recall that, in the first days of the revolution, disguised in common clothes, Qadhafi went to one of the hospitals. He was met with procrastination, neglect, and was driven away after he insisted on medical treatment. He had no choice but to reveal his identity to the hospital staff, and he launched a campaign against bureaucracy in hospitals. However, those days have become merely a memory for the ordinary citizen, who is forced to wait for five months for an operation. For the past five months, a Libyan citizen named 'Abd-al-Qadir Ibrahim Jabir has been going daily to the Tripoli Central Hospital to be fitted for an artificial limb for his amputated leg, but no one pays him any attention. On the pages of the newspaper AL-JAMAHIRIYAH, a Libyan lady complained that Tripoli hospitals had refused to accept her ailing daughter. In the same paper, another citizen said that "al-Jala' Hospital" in Tripoli was named that, because it evacuated its patients as soon as they entered.

The visitor to Libya senses another difference. Despite the fact that Libya is an oil nation that markets more than 1 million barrels a day, employees' salaries do not keep pace with rising prices, which are no longer subject to price fixing. They are now set by the merchants, in accordance with how much dollars cost on the black market. Most Libyans are fortunate to get their monthly salaries two or three months late, since there are those who have to wait more than 10 months without being paid. Delaying and lowering salaries for some Libyans, according to AL-JAMAHIRIYAH, has led to the practice of certain activities that are not in concert with their religious and moral convictions. The paper stated that need is what has driven them to that. It added that, moreover, some guardians ignore the practices of their sons and daughters, which is a big disgrace. The newspaper interprets the guardians' silence as their preference for "money and the ignominy of want."

Housing Crisis

Despite the fact that Libya has a small population (3.5 million), it has a worse housing crisis than many much more densely populated countries. Many Libyans suffer from housing problems. Young people suffer the most from this problem, especially since renting is prohibited in Libya, in accordance with Qadhafi's statement: "The house is for its occupant." Each youth interested in setting up a household must pay a large amount of money and wait for up to five years to obtain ownership of an apartment. One consequence of that is the worsening of other social problems, such as putting off getting married by young people and raising the percentage of spinsters. The outbreak of war in Yugoslavia has led to work being halted on several housing projects in Tripoli, which were being supervised by companies affiliated with what used to be Yugoslavia. After the embargo was imposed, work stopped in several workshops devoted to housing projects because of a shortage of imported construction materials. In view of the worsening housing crisis, hotel rooms are crowded, despite their rise in prices. The narrow alleys, public gardens, and cabarets have been converted into places to eat and sleep.

During a tour of Tripoli, one sees painful human pictures of people stretched out on the ground, covered by cardboard. Most of them are Arab and African citizens for whom Libya opened its borders when it needed manual labor. Now, after its need for them has vanished, the official press calls them "indolent, worthless thieves" and demands that they be driven from Libya. Municipal guard forces carry out arrest campaigns against these homeless people.

After 23 years of one-man rule, corruption has become worse everywhere. One sees neglect and lack of discipline in every office and institution and in the streets and alleys, where piles of garbage are heaped up. At the same time, the regime spends money on useless matters, such as Qadhafi's huge prize for human rights. Tripoli lacks drinking water. The telephone lines operate badly; people are forced to go early to the sole telephone

exchange in Tripoli on Muhammad al-Maqrif Street and wait for several hours to place a telephone call over a bad line.

The regime in Libya brags about the revolution's accomplishments, topped by the great man-made river, which Qadhafi considers the eighth wonder of the world. So far, the first part of this pharaonic project has cost \$4.5 billion to implement. All three stages will cost \$25 billion. Some 40,000 Korean workers are now employed on this project. If the UN sanctions are stiffened, many of them might leave the country.

Some observers think that the Libyan people are unaware of what is happening in their country, such as the Italian journalist from LA REPUBLICA, who told me that "the Libyan people are out of it; one cannot expect anything from them." On the other hand, others believe that the Lockerbie crisis has aroused the Libyan people, but that few of them would risk expressing their views. Fear lives in every Libyan, and only a few are able to express their opinions openly, such as the doctor who returned to Libya two years ago and who works in a public hospital in Tripoli. However, he was forced to practice a peripheral job, not in his medical specialty, because of the "meager salary provided." He said: "You think it is strange because you cannot understand this country. There is no government and no administration. There is one person, who is everything. He is the government and the state. He is Qadhafi."

SUDAN

Al-Turabi on Prospects for Islamic State 93P40042A

[Editorial report] Khartoum AL-QUWAT AL-MUSALLAH in Arabic of 27 August 1992 on page 5 reports on an interview with Dr. Hassan 'Abdallah Al-Turabi, head of the Sudanese National Islamic Front, the Popular and Islamic Congress, and a presidential adviser, in which al-Turabi declared that Sudan is free of foreign exploitation and that the realization of a truly Islamic state is inevitable.

Al-Turabi said that there are three main obstacles that Sudan has to overcome to realize a true Islamic state. It must first reconcile relations among "the role of the individual as an independent believer" and "the role of society as a group of believers independent by itself" and "the role of the state."

At the individual level, each person must strive to become a better Muslim. According to al-Turabi: "The rise of Islamic movements is an attempt by individuals to solve the problems of societies and does not mean an overall Islamic program." Islamic thinkers and leaders will be more effective if they remain active within their respective groups, because when leaders seek positions of

power elsewhere, "it opens doors to the devil's temptations." He conceded, however, that individuals sometimes find themselves "in influential positions [where] they can advance the Islamic cause."

Al-Turabi said that the role of society is to accept the implementation of Islamic laws as favored by the majority, for society is the primary institution in Islam, not the state. Islam exists in society as a matter of norms and laws. Adherence should come from within the ranks of society, otherwise "people will adhere to religion in fear of the authorities rather than out of a devout fear of God."

The state's role is in planning and "authenticating Islamic laws in a consultative framework." Otherwise, the Islamic cause will be empty of concrete details of application. The state is to use its power to guide its citizens and "direct people toward Islam without enacting any punitive laws."

"In Sudan the Islamic experience is too new; the Sudanese should learn from other countries' experiences," where men of religion have often usurped responsibilities that should be carried out by the state, such as common welfare, legislative power, education, and managing the economy.

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic on 16 October 1992 on page 15 reports that al-Turabi has been involved in the government's selection of newly appointed ambassadors to the European and Arab capitals around the world, all reportedly advocates of the National Islamic Front. 'Ali Ahmad Sahlul, minister of foreign affairs, was appointed ambassador to Canada; the Foreign Ministry's first deputy, 'Ali Muhammad 'Uthman Yasin, was appointed ambassador to London; Dr. Nur al-Din Sati was appointed ambassador to Paris; and Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad was appointed ambassador to Riyadh. Mahdi Ibrahim, the current ambassador in Geneva, will become the new assistant to al-Turabi at the Arab People's Islamic Conference.

The same issue of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI reports that Europe is ignoring Dr. al-Turabi's solicitation for economic help for the Sudanese Salvation regime. Europe reportedly views the current regime as a "dangerous" element capable of hindering the stability of neighboring African and moderate Arab countries. England, France, and Germany are refusing to deal with the current regime, insisting that it should work toward implementing a true democratic system.

Al-Turabi's Secret Islamic Network Revealed 93AF0146A Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 6 Nov 92 pp 18-19

[Article: "Secret Network To Promote al-Turabi in Islamic-African Belt"]

[Text] In Somalia, as in Uganda, Tanzania, Chad, and Kenya, Hasan al-Turabi's front is making penetration

attempts as part of a plan coordinated with Tehran to export the Islamic revolution. To render the plan successful, al-Turabi is enlisting local agents, while Tehran pays the bills. All this accompanies a silent war with the local regimes, which fear the complications of al-Turabi's conflagration. How is this happening?

The National Islamic Front (NIF) that Hasan al-Turabi leads is passing through a deep crisis following the attempted assassination of al-Turabi in Ottawa on 25 May of this year by a 34-year-old Sudanese political refugee named Hashim Badr-al-Din Muhammad. A number of his prospective heirs turned to improving their positions against a background of grasping at his powers. Al-Turabi, however, surprised these "adventurers" by emerging from the murderous attempt safely, albeit wounded in the jaw and speaking haltingly and with difficulty for two months after the incident. When he returned to Khartoum at the end of June, he found that the climate inside the front's leadership council had changed. The wings were on a collision course. The bosses were fighting over positions, shares, and influence, and this was reflected in disorder and anarchy at the base level. The struggle was concentrated between two main currents. The first was led by lawyer-businessman 'Uthman Khalid Mudawi. He was supported by Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, who was interior minister during the Numayri days, and financier Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad, an advocate of pragmatism at the expense of a uniform, rigid confessionalism. The second current was led by lawyer 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad Taha, al-Turabi's deputy. He was backed by dyed-in-the-wool zealots like Muhammad Taha Muhammad Ahmad (a lawyer who has devoted himself to agitational journalism), Ghazi Salah-al-Din, Mahdi Ibrahim (former editor-in-chief of the newspaper AL-JABHAH), al-Tayyib Ibrahim Muhammad Khayr (governor of Darfur), and Nafi' 'Uthman Nafi' (head of Darfur's security apparatus). The dispute between 'Ali 'Uthman Taha and 'Uthman Khalid Mudawi, which al-Turabi has not succeeded in bridling, is now intensifying. Mudawi recently was forbidden to travel. He was forcibly taken off a German Lufthansa airliner after a report by the economic department of the security apparatus (headed by Nafi' 'Uthman Nafi') stated that Mudawi had received huge credits to import oils but had not fulfilled his obligation in spite of repeated reviews. It has leaked out that the dispute is over the division of profits, which have been eaten away by the low value of the Sudanese pound, in addition to what 'Ali 'Uthman Taha has called "the betrayal of trust." 'Ali 'Uthman Taha has made use of the "losing deal" to get even with Mudawi, who represents the doves against the hawks. As is well known, Mudawi, who now has come to be in al-Turabi's camp, was one of the Muslim Brotherhood leaders who participated in the "National Front" formed in London in 1984 to overthrow Ja'far Numayri. The front was led by al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the late finance minister al-Sharif Husayn al-Hindi. Mudawi rejects the hard-liners' exclusive hold over every kind of executive job at home and abroad. The hawks, for their part, reject

[Mudawi's stand]. They argue that "an open door policy is not a priority"; the priority is to secure the revolution and its sensitive stands; it is meaningless to follow a policy of grasping the stick in the middle. What is certain is that al-Turabi is supporting the hard-liners and pouring water into their mill, especially after his reorganization of his inner circle. This was part of a two-front action: at home, moving to control decision-making positions, as well as military barracks, the security apparatus, and the diplomatic corps; and in the countries of the belt surrounding the Sudan, attacking in all directions to plant NIF influence as part of an operation of coordinating and dividing roles with Tehran.

People coming from Khartoum have revealed that al-Turabi's inner circle is made up of nine men who have been entrusted with a series of priorities and missions in the countries of the Islamic belt. At issue are fundamentalist networks wearing commercial masks or sheltering behind public relations facades in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Chad. The nine men entrusted with the job of managing this many-armed, many-headed secret network are:

- 'Ali 'Uthman Muhammad Taha: He is the youngest, but the most hard-line, the most intent on exporting fundamentalism on spearheads, following Khomeini's line.
- Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad: He represents the interests of businessmen and drew close to Tehran two years ago.
- Yasin 'Umar al-Imam: A propagandist, recent open-heart surgery has not prevented him from accepting a mobilization post and becoming the front's liaison officer with the Uganda network.
- Ahmad Sulayman: A rival of 'Ali 'Uthman Taha, he represents a rallying force and communications link with the Kenyan network, despite his having been an active member of the Communist Party led by Ibrahim Naqad.
- Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad: A prominent figure under Numayri, he directs the front's Tanzanian network.
- 'Ali al-Hajj: The head of Khartoum's delegation to the Abuja talks in Nigeria, he takes care of the Ugandan network. He relies on the tribes of Darfur to maintain his position.
- Al-Tayyib Zayn-al-'Abidin: He heads the office of mobilization, communication, and coordination with the Iranians in Khartoum—specifically, Hasan Azadeh (an official of the guards unit), and 'Arefi Ziya (a political agent officially under the Intelligence Ministry led by 'Ali Fallahian).
- Ibrahim Ahmad 'Umar: One of al-Turabi's disciples strongest in defending the NIF and most committed to applying Islamic shari'a in the whole country, including the South. He deals with the fundamentalist portfolio in Uganda.
- The ninth is 'Uthman Khalid Mudawi.

Islamic Belt Networks

How do al-Turabi's men work to manage "the fundamentalist wind" in the countries of the Islamic belt surrounding Sudan? What networks are charged with promoting and exporting the second wave of al-Turabi's Salafiyah?

To begin, there is more than ancient ivory in Uganda. There is a plan by al-Turabi to shake the regime of President Museveni on the ground that he is the last prop supporting John Garang, one of the leaders of the southern rebellion (along with Lam Akol and Riak Mashar, leaders of the al-Nasir wing). On 5 October, Kampala warned the Khartoum authorities that the fight against Garang in his last stronghold in Kajo Kaji on the border between the two countries could lead to complications. It was said at the time that the warning was not so much aimed at the Sudanese Army and its possible control of pockets in Uganda as much as it was a criticism of the activities of al-Turabi's 800-man militia mustered in the besieged city of Juba under the command of Jum'ah 'Aris, a former officer in the security forces of deposed Ugandan president Idi Amin Dada. It became clear that this militia was drafting Ugandans from the Aringa tribe west of the Nile. The tribe (a branch of the Lugbari tribe with a fundamentalist ethos and leanings) was the human reservoir for the National Front that Milton Obote and General Musa 'Ali (a former assistant to Amin Dada) led from Khartoum throughout the years of the civil war. After Amin's fall, General 'Ali shifted his rifle from one shoulder to the other and drew closer to Museveni. Having strengthened his presence in Kampala palace, he attempted an unsuccessful coup a year ago. Its strings turned out to be tied to al-Turabi's NIF and the al-Bashir regime. Museveni responded by giving arms to support John Garang. One result was that in Washington, Museveni had to mortgage his embassy building in a Manhattan suburb to provide the \$1 million that a federal court required as bail to release (Bisangwa Mbuguji), the Ugandan president's private secretary, who was arrested in Florida this August when American customs officials thwarted an attempt to buy 400 antitank TOW rockets. It turned out that Uganda had obtained funding to buy them for Garang. The first victim of these rockets was Uganda's ambassador in Washington, who was arrested, though his diplomatic immunity kept him from staying in prison. It was protested that he had tried to obtain 400 TOW rockets and 34 launching pads at a total cost of nearly \$18 million. He had personally inspected the rockets at a depot in Orlando, Florida. They were to be used to neutralize tanks that Iran had supplied to Sudanese government forces.

Kenya—Importing, Exporting Revolution

The same al-Turabi equation applies to the "Kenyan vessel." Fundamentalists in the Kenyan Islamic Party in the country's second city, Mombasa, on the Indian Ocean, have been agitating for three months to extract legal recognition. The Kenyan scholar, Ali Mazrui, who

teaches in the United States, says that President Daniel arap Moi's refusal to recognize the Kenyan Islamic Party is fanning fundamentalist fanaticism and playing into al-Turabi's hands. This view is not shared by the barons of Nairobi's ruling KANU [Kenya African National Union] party. They fear the fundamentalist fever that the Khartoum leader is orchestrating, using several channels to support a rebellious situation. There is the Somali channel, where the Iranians are active in the north and the west and where their followers are infiltrating the refugee ranks. In the last few weeks, Kenyan newspapers have been filled with reports of Khartoum- and Tehran-backed fundamentalists distributing leaflets in Nairobi urging civil disobedience. Even Special Security, the operations wing of Kenyan intelligence, fears revenge strikes by al-Bashir's regime and al-Turabi's networks in response to Nairobi's support to the al-Nasir wing of Lam Akol and Riak Mashar in the battles for the city of Malakal, the capital of Upper Nile province. Khartoum's forces retreated and abandoned the city after the southern units in the garrison mutinied. The fall of the city, which has a strategic position in relation to the other cities in the south and which Khartoum retook this February, was a great blow to the entire strategy of al-Bashir and al-Turabi in the south. The two men are expected to take revenge on Nairobi, which, with an American green light, armed about 3,000 fighters to retake the capital of Upper Nile. According to American reports, the Kenyan dance certainly is not unrelated to the tango between Khartoum and Tehran in Nairobi. The ruling KANU party accuses al-Bashir's regime of having given invaluable help to Iranian intelligence in Kenya, thereby causing elements of the outlawed Islamic party in Mombasa to turn from defense to offense and engage in operations to subvert and threaten public security. It has leaked out that Tehran's men in Kenya belong to the Oromo tribe and that they move behind commercial doors, using exporting and importing as a facade.

This fundamentalist international apparently does not stop at the borders of Uganda and Kenya, but extends to Chad. In the latter country, which Idriss Deby rules with great difficulty, deposed president Hissein Habre is trying to revive "armed cells" with Iranian-Sudanese support to gain control of the government. Arab and European intelligence agencies concerned about the stability of the situation in the sands of Chad are monitoring the fundamentalist advance moving in diplomatic pouches. After the discovery of the head of the Iranian thread in the network, it will be difficult for Hissein Habre's game to succeed, now that he is isolated in a Senegalese villa.

Zanzibar a Launching Point

If N'Djamena is worth a try in al-Turabi's thinking, even if the political situation there is as unrippled as the country's endless tracts of sand, then Tanzania is more open and easily penetrated by the fundamentalist international. There have been reports of an Iranian-Sudanese plan to spread the theses of the second wave of

exporting the Islamic revolution through Zanzibari separatists and through the directors of the (Kulmbiro) sugar refinery that the Germans built some years ago and then left to be operated by Tanzanian businessmen closely connected to al-Turabi and Tehran.

In Somalia, al-Turabi's and Iran's horses are running at full speed in a feverish attempt to align a base, disciples, and followers in the atmosphere of the current famine. This hunt in a morass of death is being carried out by an organization new to the scene, the Somali Islamic Union. It actually is an umbrella for a group of tiny fundamentalist organizations that belong to various tribes and clans in the racial mosaic. The union's influence is centered in the Boosaaso area of the north and in Marka and Jamaame in the south. While its main figures still are secret, its spokesman is known: he is Mahmud 'Uthman, who issues communiques and signs proclamations, especially from London. Knowledgeable people have revealed that this "union" held its first conference in Marka on 15 August of this year in the presence of a joint Sudanese-Iranian delegation led by the deputy commander of the guards (pasdaran), General Rahim Safavi, and the deputy head of al-Turabi's front, 'Ali 'Uthman Taha. The conference ended with a decision to mobilize resources for a concerted spread in the Somali north. The Somali Democratic Salvation Front, led by Yusuf 'Abdallah, resisted; battles broke out, and finally the fundamentalists were turned back to their stronghold, Las Koreh, overlooking the Gulf of Aden. At a meeting that the president of the "Republic of Somaliland," 'Abd-al-Rahman Ahmad 'Ali, held in the coastal city of Berbera on 15 September of this year, he acknowledged that a Sudanese emissary had offered him aid—for example, guaranteeing scholarships for students, dispatching trainers, doctors, and teachers, as well as weapons—in return for permission for friends and supporters of the Somali Islamic Union to work.

The international leadership of al-Turabi's front is participating in attempts to penetrate in every direction in Africa. Prominent figures in this leadership include 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman (leader of Egyptian Jihad), Rached Ghannouchi (commander of the banned Tunisian al-Nahdah), 'Ali Belhadj (the Algerian fundamentalist under detention in Blida prison), Shaykh Nu'aym Qasim (a key figure in Lebanon's Hizballah), Hamas members, and Jordanian Jihad figures. It has been confirmed that al-Turabi has laid his hands on the offices of the Tripoli-headquartered "Islamic Call Front" (Jabhat al-Da'wah al-Islamiyah), which is led by former Education Minister Muhammad al-Sharif, following the freezing of its activities. It had a presence in West and East Africa; now it has turned toward direct Iranian support and is trying to align the educated political elites as well as trade and professional unions through a policy of (nibbling at the leftovers). As a result, a former French diplomat has confessed that all the fundamentalist roads on the Black Continent now lead to Khartoum and Tehran. Al-Turabi has turned into a paid caretaker for the policy of exporting the Iranian revolution, proposing

himself as a "grand ayatollah" and weaving new alliances for the Sudanese state on the basis of a broad fundamentalist current with its own bases, camps, resources, and funding.

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Fundamentalist Leader on Constitution, Colonialism

93AE0043A London AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI in Arabic
12 Oct 92 p 4

[Interview with Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani, a prominent Yemeni fundamentalist, by Mahmud Ma'ruf in Sanaa; date not given: "Our Most Important Goal: To Change the Constitution"]

[Text] At his home in one of Sanaa's suburbs, I had an appointment with the most prominent fundamentalist leader in Yemen, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani. Dozens of his followers filled the sitting room, discussing a text or book. Before he invited us to sit in another room, he entered and asked permission for a delay, calling on those who had not said afternoon prayers to pray together. As a condition for granting this interview, he asked that his statements be published verbatim, and we agreed. Here is the interview:

[Ma'ruf] Where are you now in Yemeni political life?

[al-Zandani] Where am I? I am in Yemen now, after having been abroad. I start with the reminder that God sent to us: The statement that I make to those who know is clear to those who do not. I strive to unite people and warn about the evils and corruption in all forms that are ongoing in the Muslims' world today. This is my position.

[Ma'ruf] You are one of the pillars of the Yemeni Reform Alliance, which will enter the coming parliamentary elections. How can Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani participate in elections conducted on the basis of a constitution that he has not only rejected, but also fought against?

[al-Zandani] We believe that the Constitution is in conflict with the precepts of the Islamic shari'a [Islamic law]. The ulema made clear, in a letter sent to the president, and in later statements to the authorities, that this constitution violates the Koran and the Sunnah [sayings of the Prophet]. It violates the precepts of the revelation. The Council of the Presidency joined with us and published our statement officially, on the eve of the referendum on the Constitution, designating it as the council's statement. In the statement, the most important points of weakness in the Constitution were dealt with. It was stipulated that all legislation promulgated before or after unification violates the Koran and Sunnah and is invalid. Then, the political leadership, speaking for the head of the Council of the Presidency, declared that the referendum was on the Constitution

and the statement and that the state was committed to what it had submitted to the people on behalf of certain ulema. It invited them to the referendum. Those ulema called on the people to enter the referendum because it was on the Constitution and the statement. Therefore, we consider any legislation in violation of the Koran and Sunnah to be null and void in our religious and political life.

Amend the Constitution

[Ma'ruf] But, despite this, you participated in the referendum?

[al-Zandani] Because we were demanding that this statement be added to the body of the Constitution. We were not obligated to do that, but the political leadership was committed to this. It was a their commitment, not ours. In our view, it was not enough. There is no doubt that our most important goal will be to amend the Constitution, clearly and distinctly. This is our demand and the government's, as well. The government, now, after having clung tenaciously to the concept of not amending the Constitution, has given in and says that it ought to be amended. Therefore, all of us have become one against the Constitution.

[Ma'ruf] Amending the Constitution is one of the legislature's prerogatives. Might the majority not want to amend it?

[al-Zandani] Events should not be anticipated. Concerning our people, we think that they are strong in belief. No one who is against religion can oppose them. As I told you, the day of the referendum brought this commitment from the Council of the Presidency. I do not think that the programs of the political parties that plan to enter the elections will ignore this point. You know that parties consider the people. Perhaps we can expect many promises from the parties on this point, in order to satisfy our people.

Colonialist Culture

[Ma'ruf] Including the Socialist Party?

[al-Zandani] I would ask it. This party ruled the southern provinces for more than 23 years with Marxist-Leninism and dialectical materialism. It established intellectual and economic systems, which were promoted despite their violation of Islam. We ask only that the party declares—officially—that it is turning away from this heretical course and is committed to Islam—creed, shari'ah, and way of life. We think that it is a victim of a colonialist culture that was imposed on us and that used a culture of inferior promises to distort our religion. The Socialist Party fell victim to that colonialist culture, which depicted Islam falsely. When I visited the southern provinces, this matter became clear to me. Party members came to the lectures, listened, and spoke. This is a right, and our religion is the religion of right. We told this to the party rank and file. We have now begun to hear from some of their leaders that they want

to declare, clearly and distinctly, that they have broken away from the secularist, socialist path. Their hearts are tranquil. God says: "Those who repent, pray, and offer alms, they are your brothers in religion."

[Ma'ruf] Are they now your brothers in religion?

[al-Zandani] This verse sets forth three conditions for repentance. There are four conditions for repentance. The first is to refrain from the offense that caused them to fall into error, and that is Marxism and socialism. Refraining from it means that they should declare that they are neither socialists nor Marxists. Second, the determination not to return to that, so that they are confident that they will not return to error. They have to say that they have finished with Marxism, have ended their past behavior, and will not return to it. Third, repentance for what has passed. They should declare that they regret what has happened. When man falls into error, he must declare his repentance. As for boasting of his past, that is proof that he has erred and that he has not resolved not to return. The fourth, in a case like theirs, is for the people, because the first three conditions are God's. He restored the right to His people. They took the people's money illegally. It goes without saying that restoring rights to people is the basis of repentance. In order for them to be our brothers in religion, it must be in accordance with the Koranic verse on performing ritual prayer. It is not enough for one of them to come on the 'Id and pray. On the contrary, he must perform the prayer himself, in his party and his group. The state, which controls it, also bestows alms. This is the right of the poor, the humble, and the toilers.

[Ma'ruf] You ask for conditions from a party that had a share in your return to Yemen. Before unification, you were outside Yemen. Your return happened as a result of unification, which established political pluralism and led to political relaxation. The Socialist Party is one of the two makers of this unity. Your return came about thanks to socialists!

[al-Zandani] You are not being harsh with your question, but rather, your information is incomplete. I was in and out of Yemen.

[Ma'ruf] But your relationship with the state was not what was desired.

[al-Zandani] My relationship with the state was one of guidance and advice. It was the same as my present relationship. I did not abandon this task, neither before nor after unity.

Alliance for All

[Ma'ruf] You are a well-known Islamic advocate. Was it necessary to join the Yemeni Reform Alliance?

[al-Zandani] I have not joined the reform party, but I was one of its advocates. When we saw pluralism coming and the nation being driven to division, we wanted a comprehensive entity for Muslims, unified for the sons

of Yemen. We named it the Alliance, and we made its slogan reform, since there might be corruption. We want unity and equality. We do not want to be divided. We do not want to nourish the division that we inherited from past regimes, with their deep-rooted ideologies, and fritter away our efforts. For this reason, we called for and became one of the advocates of the Yemeni Reform Alliance. You know some of the persons. They are well-known figures. However, with all this, we have not forgotten that we pray to God in every prayer to guide us on the straight path, the one path, the path of those upon whom God has bestowed His favor, those to whom God sent His Messenger. The Alliance is open to all. In our lectures and our gatherings, we are always think of the alliance in the status of the mosque. The mosque is also open to all who wish to pray and who practice their affairs amicably and refrain from the objectionable aspects of public life. This alliance is the arena for those people.

Cover By Cover

[Ma'ruf] I have heard that Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani wanted a political cover for his activities, that you are covered by Shaykh 'Abdallah Ibn Husayn al-Ahmar, and that Shaykh 'Abdallah wanted a religious cover. Are you that cover?

[al-Zandani] Our relationship with Shaykh 'Abdallah is from the early days of the revolution. He is one of the leaders of political reform in its comprehensive sense. I was one of the prominent persons at that time, along with Judge Muhammad Mahmud al-Zubayri. Our relationship goes way back and does not now search for mutual cover. As God decreed, "Cooperate in piety and strengthen yourself." We met with Shaykh 'Abdallah, but it was a brotherly Islamic meeting that God had ordained.

[Ma'ruf] Has it not been fundamental that other religious trends be with you?

[al-Zandani] As I told you, the alliance is like a mosque. Do you think that anyone would stand in front of a mosque to prevent any worshipper from entering? We have opened the door to anyone who wishes to enter. Nevertheless, as a result of circumstances and certain conduct that has occurred, we have not abandoned the idea of the mosque, and our universal brotherhood, for each Muslim and believer. In Yemen, we are all Muslims. I said Yemen means Islam, and I have said that Islam means Yemen. All of us are Muslims. The new, erroneous oddity is those who call for withdrawal from Islam.

[Ma'ruf] How do you explain your noncooperation with the al-Haqq Party?

[al-Zandani] There are judgements that might sometimes cause the father and his son, the brother and his brother, to differ. Each has his own opinion in this matter. However, that does not form a basis for our not cooperating. The basis is cooperation. What happened was unforeseen, but it is an obstacle. It must be remedied.

[Ma'ruf] One interpretation of the noncooperation is that the al-Haqq Party is close to Iran and that you are close to Saudi Arabia?

[al-Zandani] People manufacture these details and impose them on us. There is a universality for Muslims. That is the Koran and Sunnah. As for closeness or aloofness from them, we are close or aloof. Sometimes, we may think we do not see in a specific local party, or in the behavior of a certain country, any closeness or agreement on a specific matter, and we take our position in light of that. It is incorrect that we impute to any country or any question that we always wish to associate with the Koran and Sunnah.

[Ma'ruf] How is your relationship with Saudi Arabia now?

[al-Zandani] I have no embassy there. I am an ordinary citizen. I live in my country. I want all Muslims to be dominated by brotherhood, love, and cooperation. Undoubtedly, the neighbor is primarily for his neighbor's welfare and not for his injury, because whatever makes you happy is what makes your neighbor happy. Gabriel bequeathed to the neighbor "so that he would inherit." Nevertheless, a brother might differ with his brother, but they would remain brothers. We hope our media brothers will carry this important matter: "It is not shame on you, Arabs. The shame is that you see Europe uniting and overcoming its strong differences. You see the West uniting, and all the Christian countries uniting in alliances. You allege and widen conflicts and disputes among brothers. You deepen and nourish them."

[Ma'ruf] But, it is not the media who attacked Qatar and occupied Abu Musa.

[al-Zandani] My brother, our message to all is that we fear God in our world; we must be clear in our function. As for seeing problems on our borders so that we call on the Americans for aid, this international power, behind which stand the Jews in our area, this diminishes our religion and intelligence. I call for Muslim unity on the country, regional, and world level, because God says true believers are brothers.

BANGLADESH

Commentary Urges Active Assistance From World Bank

*BK1711123792 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network
in Bengali 1430 GMT 16 Nov 92*

[Station commentary]

[Text] World Bank President Lewis T. Preston arrived in Dhaka yesterday on a three-day official visit. He is accompanied by the bank's vice president, (Joseph Wood), and his assistant, (Rita Mohasen). The World Bank president is also accompanied by his wife. In a statement on his arrival at Dhaka, the World Bank chief expressed his desire to meet Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia and members of her cabinet and also to visit the rural areas of Bangladesh. He said that the bank wants to assist Bangladesh in its preparation to deal with future challenges of cyclones by extending loans and constructing cyclone shelters. The bank president also expressed his interest in ascertaining the views of Bangladeshi leaders about the country's future. He said he is especially interested in knowing how the World Bank can help Bangladesh in meeting the needs of the country's people.

Addressing a reception hosted in his honor at the state guest house, Padma, by Finance Minister Saifur Rahman and Mrs. Rahman after his arrival in Dhaka yesterday, World Bank President Lewis Preston expressed appreciation at the courage and efficiency of the government of Prime Minister Khaleda Zia in the implementation of various economic and financial programs, reforms, and coordination programs. He emphasized the need for greater consensus in the implementation of the economic coordination programs. The World Bank president opined that implementing economic and financial reforms and coordination programs are not easy tasks. The process is very hard and difficult and, once initiated, must be continued and should not be allowed to be disrupted.

The World Bank president also stressed the important role of the private sector in the economic development of Bangladesh. He said that bureaucratic complexities of the past no longer exist and the private sector has been revived in Bangladesh. The existing macroeconomic management of the country is developing. Preston assured that the bank will consider extending loans to the development sectors of Bangladesh on a preferential basis.

The World Bank chief held talks with Finance Minister M. Saifur Rahman yesterday. During the talks held at his secretariat, the finance minister presented a detailed picture of the policy and reform measures taken by the government. The finance minister said that massive reform measures have been undertaken to bring about substantial changes to achieve national progress and development. The finance minister informed him that Bangladesh's economy is gradually becoming stronger

due to the change in policy. Exports have recorded a rise of 12 percent during the first four months of the current fiscal year as compared to the same period last year. During the same period, imports have increased by 26 percent. Remittances by overseas Bangladeshis have increased by 25 percent.

At present, the country's economic situation is fairly good. The inflation rate has decreased to 4.5 percent. Apart from this, there has also been improvement in revenue earnings. Revenue earnings during the first four months of the 1992-93 fiscal year have exceeded the target. Implementation of the annual development program is also in full swing. Food grain production has also increased considerably. During the meeting, the finance minister presented a complete picture of Bangladesh's economic situation and called for expanding World Bank development assistance for the development-oriented policy of Bangladesh.

The World Bank president was apprised of the various ongoing projects, including the poverty alleviation program, and reforms in the health and education sectors. He was requested to lift the stay order imposed on the \$300 million loan pledged for the power and energy sectors. The bank's assistance has also been sought for the Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge Project.

The World Bank president will see for himself the considerable progress that has already been made and is being achieved by Bangladesh on the economic front. During his talks with the leaders of this country he will come to know how much we are determined to see the country further its socioeconomic development. We naturally hope that the World Bank will offer its active assistance in establishing the country's economy on a solid and firm foundation in order to meet the needs of our people.

IRAN

India Planning Purchase of Natural Gas

*93AS0192C London KEYHAN in Persian 12 Nov 92
p 4*

[Text] India intends to purchase liquid gas from the Islamic Republic in order to secure its fuel needs. The energy sources in the Middle East revealed some time ago that India might respond positively to the proposal for the Islamic Republic to build a natural gas pipeline to that country.

About three years ago, the Islamic Republic proposed to India that in order to export Iranian natural gas to the central areas of that country, it was prepared to build a pipeline. The natural gas pipeline proposed by the Islamic Republic will be 3,000-km long and able to transport natural gas from the southern sources in the country, from Bandar 'Abbas to Pakistan and from there to India. MEED weekly journal, published in London, which reported the above news, wrote: "Vay R. Mabta,

the director of planning of the Indian Natural Gas Company, announced that he intends to negotiate with the Islamic Republic about the preparations to build a natural gas pipeline from Iran to India."

The above-mentioned publication wrote in its report: "The French contracting company, (Sufergas), has done the necessary studies on the possibility of transferring liquid gas and natural gas from Iran through a pipeline to India."

Air Connection Agreement Signed With Mexico

93AS0190I London KEYHAN in Persian 29 Oct 92 p 4

[Text] As of early next year Tehran and Mexico city will be linked by air. The National Airline Organization, which has been trying for a long time to get Mehrabad Airport connected by air to one of the nations of the American continent, after failing with Canada to arrange flights between Montreal and Tehran, turned to Mexico's officials and based on reports published in the Tehran press, a letter of agreement pertaining to establishing an air route between the Islamic Republic and Mexico has recently been signed.

The newspaper ETTELA'AT published in Tehran, which published the report on the establishment of air links between Iran and Mexico in one of its recent issues, wrote: The letter of agreement on the establishment of an air route between the Islamic Republic and Mexico has recently been signed by 'Ali Mohammad Nurian, chief of the National Airline Organization and Zapata, his Mexican counterpart. At the same time, the Office of Information and Publications of the Islamic regime's Ministry of Foreign Affairs also announced that based on the contract signed, the Iran National Airline Company HOMA and Mexico will be authorized operate three flights per week between the two countries.

Reports obtained from Tehran state that the new flights between Iran and Mexico will be made from Mehrabad Airport in Tehran, and passenger aircraft, after a short stop in Frankfurt or Madrid, will fly to Mexico City or Tijuana in northwest Mexico and then return. It was announced that the flights will begin in early 1372 [21 Mar 1993-20 Mar 1994], and on these lines Boeing 747 jets will be used. The start of flights between Tehran and a country on the American continent will permit Iranian passengers bound for the United States, Canada, and other countries on this continent to travel most of the way to Mexico using Iran Air's low-cost tickets, and then go to America or other countries on this continent using other airlines or overland.

HOMA To Buy Needed Airbus From France

93AS0190H London KEYHAN in Persian 23 Oct 92 p 4

[Text] Following the announcement that the American State Department did not agree to the sale of 16 Boeing 737 passenger aircraft to the Islamic Republic, the Iran National Airline Company threatened Washington that

if a \$1-billion deal to sell Boeing aircraft does not go through, in the future that company will buy all the aircraft it needs exclusively from the Airbus aircraft manufacturing company of France.

Early last week a spokesman for the American State Department announced that this country has no intention of voiding regulations prohibiting the sale of aircraft of various types to the Islamic Republic. At the same time, a high-ranking White House official emphasized that the United States of America has told its aircraft manufacturing plants not to sell aircraft to the Islamic Republic.

Late last September international news agencies reported that officials from the Iran National Airline Company HOMA and the American Boeing company's sales managers had reached agreement on the sale of 16 Boeing 737-400 passenger aircraft. In its latest issue the economic weekly MEED of London wrote that the published report on the agreement for a \$1-billion deal to sell Boeing aircraft to the Islamic Republic, because it coincided with the announcement of the sale of Russian submarines to the Islamic regime and also the escalation of the dispute between the Islamic Republic and the United Arab Emirates over the ownership of Abu Musa Island and the greater and lesser Tonbs, aroused the opposition of some American congressmen and high-ranking White House officials.

The weekly publication noted that America, in making the aforementioned deal, had effectively gone into competition with the French Airbus aircraft manufacturing industries in the selling of aircraft to the Islamic Republic. It wrote: "The American State Department announced that this country's Boeing industries will not be authorized to sell aircraft to Iran, and that a prerequisite for any kind of aircraft deal with the Islamic Republic is a change in the regulations on economic sanctions against the Tehran regime."

In its preliminary negotiations with the Islamic Republic's officials, America's Boeing aircraft industries agreed to sell this country 16 Boeing 737-400s, and in addition, in the future also to provide Iran Air with four more of this type of passenger aircraft as needed. The aircraft to be delivered to the Islamic Republic are equipped with CFM-56 motors, manufactured by America's General Electric Industries and [Eseneema] of France. The total value of the contract, including the professional training and the spare parts, is \$9.83 billion.

About six months ago the Iran National Airline Company HOMA signed a contract with Airbus Industries of France to buy two large E-300-600 aircraft.

At the same time, sources in Tehran have reported that a French-Italian aircraft manufacturing company has signed a \$50-million contract under which it will sell six small ETR-42 and ETR-72 aircraft to the Asman Company. ETR Aircraft Industries is now trying to get the final contract for carrying out this deal signed by granting financial credit to the Asman Airline Company.

By taking delivery of the ordered aircraft, the Asman Airline Company will succeed in expanding its domestic flight network, thereby attracting to itself some of Iran Air's passengers.

New Gilan Province Law-Enforcement Commander Named

93AS0149C Tehran SALAM in Persian 12 Oct 92 p 11

[Interview with General Seyfollahi, the commander of law enforcement, by the media; place and date not given]

[Text] Rasht. IRNA. As long as there is crime in society, law enforcement shall not sleep comfortably, and we will not allow anyone to violate people's rights. This statement was made by General Reza Seyfollahi, the commander of law enforcement, in ceremonies introducing the new law enforcement commander of Gilan Province. In these ceremonies, Gen. Seyyed Qasemi was appointed the new law enforcement commander of Gilan Province.

In the continuation of the ceremonies, he addressed the law enforcement personnel of Gilan and said: The people appreciate the services and hard work of the law enforcement personnel, and this appreciation stems from your efforts. In these ceremonies, Gen. 'Aqba'i, the law enforcement commander of Greater Tehran; the training deputy of the law enforcement forces, military, and law enforcement commanders; some of the directors general of the province; the representative of the religious guardian and Friday imam of Rasht; and the governor general of Gilan spoke about the grave responsibility of this force in the country and the necessity of perpetuating and preserving the gains of the revolution and emphasized the importance of the role of law enforcement in the province of Gilan.

In an interview with media reporters, Gen. Seyfollahi, the commander of law enforcement, pointed out that law enforcement has made great investments in fighting social corruption and said: Cultural control in fighting social corruption can be the most effective tool to guide the society toward the true values of Islam.

He added: In the direction of improving the trend of this fight, there is need for more cooperation between the Hezbollah and mobilization forces, and also public guidance and supervision. In connection with fighting the dealers of death, he pointed out: So far, this force has succeeded in eliminating large international gangs of narcotics in the country on the borders and beyond the borders, and the serious fight continues.

In these ceremonies, the hard word of Gen. Khamseh'i, the former law enforcement commander of Gilan, was praised.

Gilan To Export Goods to Neighboring Countries

93AS0107D Tehran ABRAR in Persian 3 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] Rasht. IRNA. The governor general of Gilan emphasized the creation and expansion of winter storage units for consumer goods and fuel in villages, particularly the oppressed areas.

According to a report by IRNA, Engineer Taha'i, the governor general of Gilan, spoke at a one-day seminar of the heads of the agencies and general managers of the Union of Rural Cooperative Companies throughout Gilan. He spoke about providing for the institutions and needs and offering services to villages. In this meeting, vital decisions were made about the purchase of rice produced by farmers, the distribution of various kinds of fertilizers at the price approved last year, and the export of agricultural products from the province of Gilan to the republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and the Persian Gulf countries.

Najaf Abad Friday Prayers Leader Appointed

93AS0149D Tehran SALAM in Persian 7 Oct 92 p 15

[Text] Qom. IRNA. In a decree by the Central Administrative Office of Friday Imams, Hojjat ol-Eslam Yadollah Purihadi was appointed the Friday imam of Najaf Abad.

The following text of the decree was placed at the disposal of IRNA: Honorable Hojjat ol-Eslam Haj Sheykh Yadollah Purihadi. In accordance with the request of the honorable people of Najaf Abad and the verification of the religious scholars, you are appointed Friday imam of Najaf Abad by the grand leader, Ayatollah Khamene'i. God willing, while performing this great, divine duty, you will familiarize the people with their grave duty in connection with beloved Islam. It is hoped that the revered clerics of the region and the honorable people, especially the revolutionary organizations and institutions, will take advantage of the opportunity and cooperate with you in performing the Friday prayers in the area as magnificently as possible.

Mazaheri Named Esfahan Province Prosecutor General

93AS0149B Tehran SALAM in Persian 10 Oct 92 p 11

[Text] Esfahan. SALAM correspondent. In ceremonies in the presence of Chief Justice Ayatollah Moqtada'i, the governor general of Esfahan, several Majles deputies, officials of the provincial offices, law enforcement commanders, and the personnel of the judicial organization of the province, Hojjat ol-Eslam Safdari, the former director general of the Justice Department of Esfahan Province, was praised for his services.

According to the SALAM correspondent, in these ceremonies, Mr. Shahbazi, the deputy director of the Justice Department of Esfahan Province, praised the services of Hojjat ol-Eslam Safdari and said: During the period that

I have been at the Esfahan Justice Department, 11 directors have come, made promises, and left. But Hojjat ol-Eslam Safdari left behind a memento before his departure, which was the purchase of land for the Esfahan Organization building on Shahid Nikbakht Street. Despite the thousands of disruptions and problems that were created, he stood bravely, advanced from trench to trench, and, by providing a budget, left a valuable memento.

In the continuation of these ceremonies, Hojjat ol-Eslam Safdari thanked the people of Esfahan and, referring to the life of seminary students, said: All we have is from these people, because they have been raised and have studied from the fruit of their hard work. God willing, we will be able to bring true Islam to the level of perfection.

Then Chief Justice Ayatollah Moqtada'i said: God has left the people's affairs in your hands to test you. Hence, you must gain the people's contentment, which is God's contentment, as best you can.

He also addressed the judges: You have the reputation, families, and property of the people at your disposal. You must ensure God's contentment more than others. God's contentment for you is to implement justice and observe equality between all members of the society. If you succeed, you will go to heaven, and if you commit the slightest transgression, you will go to hell. In conclusion, the chief justice introduced Mr. Mehdi Mazaheri as the director general of the Esfahan Justice Department.

He also praised Hojjat ol-Eslam Ashja'i, the former military prosecutor of Esfahan, and introduced Mr. Qadyani as the military prosecutor of the province.

Based on this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Safdari was appointed as the security prosecutor of judges by the head of the judicial branch.

State of Traffic, Transport in Esfahan Viewed

93AS0148E Tehran SALAM in Persian 7 Oct 92 p 15

[Text] Esfahan—SALAM Correspondent—Drivers ignoring yellow traffic lights, as an example of the poor training of society, is one of the important factors creating problems in urban traffic, and if drivers observed the lights, about 30 percent of the traffic problems would be solved.

Qa'em-Maqami, deputy minister of transportation for Esfahan urban traffic, announced the above at a press conference. He explained conditions in the transportation and traffic precinct. He said: Based on a measure enacted by the Ministry of the Interior for large cities with populations in excess of 200,000, he is responsible for this policymaking and planning precinct on matters of transportation and traffic.

Concerning the activities of the Esfahan Transportation and Traffic Organization, he said: Phase 3 of the comprehensive studies for Esfahan urban transportation,

which is really the completing phase, is a research model for the nation's other provinces.

The deputy minister of transportation and traffic for Esfahan enumerated the results obtained from research Phases 1 and 2. He said: Every day 1.7 million trips are taken in Esfahan, and the peak times for these trips are between 0700 and 0900 and 1400 and 1600.

He also added: Of these trips, 20 percent are taken by private automobiles, 22 percent by taxis, 7 percent by minibuses, 20 percent by buses and motorcycles, and 27 percent by bicycles.

Continuing, he discussed the purpose of the trips. He said: 34 percent of the trips are for work, 24 percent are for school, 24 percent are for shopping, 2 percent are to go to government offices, 5 percent are for medical needs, 9 percent are for visits, 3 percent are recreational and 10 percent are for other purposes. [sentence as published]

Qa'em-Maqami discussed the measures taken to provide for the transport of school children. He said: To protect the lives of students, the fronts of schools have been demarcated and in this regard measures have been taken to form school crossing guard groups, who ensure the safe crossing of students by wearing special clothing, using special flags, and installing traffic control lights.

He added: The ancient composition of the city and the narrow streets are other traffic problems. Currently the average speed of vehicles at any hour is 24 km, and if no solution is found, in the year 1385 [21 Mar 2006-20 Mar 2007] this speed will be 9 km per hour.

He cited the failure to build satellite cities on the fringes of Esfahan as another traffic problem. He said: In view of the fact that Esfahan has a capacity of 1 million people, the population of Esfahan today has reached 1.3 million, and this population increase has also created a percentage of the traffic.

He likewise said: In the year 1355 [21 Mar 1976-20 Mar 1977] there was one automobile for every nine families in the city of Esfahan, while in the year 1370 [21 Mar 1991-20 Mar 1992] there was one automobile for every two families, yet despite this increase in automobiles in the city, the amount of road space is still the same as it was before.

Qa'em-Maqami discussed solving the urban traffic problem. He said: The people must be encouraged to use public transportation, and the commercial, administrative, health care and cultural centers and the places to which people are drawn must be moved outside the city and to its fringes.

Likewise proper education on the principles of traffic and the meaning of traffic control lights, which demands long-term cultural planning, will also help solve the urban traffic problems.

Official Objects to 'Sabalan' as Name for New Province*93AS0149A Tehran SALAM in Persian 11 Oct 92 p 11*

[Interview with Engineer 'Abdol'alizadeh, the governor general of Eastern Azarbaijan, by the press; place and date not given]

[Text] Tabriz. SALAM correspondent. Choosing the name Sabalan Province with Ardabil as its capital is disrespectful to the authentic nationality and culture of the people of Azarbaijan. We will not be able to change the nationality and the culture of the people by changing the name of part of the provinces. Azarbaijan is greater than what it is called, and changing the name of a part of the Azarbaijan domain to Sabalan Province can diminish Azarbaijan.

Engineer 'Abdol'alizadeh, the governor general of Eastern Azarbaijan, made the above statements in a press conference and, criticizing the selection of the name Sabalan Province, said: The creation of another province next to Eastern and Western Azarbaijan is a step toward the eradication of poverty in the region and towards the economic growth and development of the province. But the choice of a name other than Azarbaijan will humiliate and culturally weaken Azarbaijan.

He proposed that after approval by the government and the Majles, the province be called Central Azarbaijan, along with the two provinces of Eastern and Western Azarbaijan, to encourage the economic and political growth of the region.

Continuing this interview, Engineer 'Abdol'alizadeh said concerning the problems of Eastern Azarbaijan Province: The most common and major problem existing throughout the province is in the cultural area, with the feeling of isolation and indifference among the people, which causes the weakening and isolation of the faithful and expert forces.

He added: The other problem is economic recession in the region. In this area, the owners of capital show no inclination to invest in government and private projects. But considering the steps taken in connection with creating facilities to carry out projects and cultural, artistic, and athletic projects, which are significantly improving, we are witnessing a more widespread increase in the applications for agreements in principle.

Eng. 'Abdol'alizadeh said: Permission for building three hotels, holding a seminar, and organizing several recreational and athletic projects have been issued, and in some cases the operations have started.

He added: The agreement for the creation of a large playground with the participation of the people and the private sector has been signed.

In conclusion, he emphasized better use of the cultural resources and the existing cinemas throughout the province and the city of Tabriz, and he expressed his disappointment in connection with the behavior of the executive administrators towards the press and reporters, and in regards to the behavior of one official in the province toward a reporter he said that from now on such behavior will be prevented.

Bandar-e Anzali To Become Commercial Free Zone*93AS0107B Tehran ABRAR in Persian 5 Oct 92 p 9*

[Text] Bandar-e Anzali. IRNA. If the negotiations with Kazakhstan and the issue of passage through the Volga waterway are concluded successfully, in the future, Bandar-e Anzali will also become a commercial free port.

Engineer Madad, the deputy minister of roads and transport and general manager of the Ports and Shipping Agency of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who had traveled to Bandar-e Anzali to introduce Mr. Roknoddin Hashemi as the new director general of ports and shipping in the Province of Gilan, made this statement in an interview with IRNA correspondent and pointed out that with the creation of free ports in the Caspian Sea, a large volume of goods will be exchanged by sea and through Mianeh to Europe.

In regards to expanding sea transportation relations with the countries along the coast of the Caspian Sea, he said: In the negotiations that have been carried out with the neighboring countries, the issues of sea water pollution, the rescue of human life at sea, and the transfer of technology in regard to the increase in the water level of the Caspian Sea have been examined, and agreements have been made with each country.

Khorasan Exports Increased Compared to Previous Year*93AS0148A Tehran SALAM in Persian 12 Oct 92 p 10*

[Text] Mashhad—IRNA—With the issuance of 781 standards permits, 12,000 tons of goods valued at 23 billion rials were exported from Khorasan to France, Italy, Germany, Japan, Syria, Afghanistan, and the United Arab Emirates.

The general manager of industry and the supervisor of the Khorasan Standards and Industrial Research Office said: The goods exported in this regard compared to the same period the previous year increased 10 percent in terms of weight and 25 percent in terms of rials.

He discussed the fact that implementing the policy of nonoil export development, so far basic steps have been taken to establish a quality control station and to develop and equip the laboratories needed in the province of Khorasan's production and industrial units.

He added: In view of the policy of delegating authority to the provinces to apply the seal of standards approval,

Khorasan's first seal of standards approval was granted to the Zamzam Crusade [Jahad-e Zamzam] Company, producer of polyethylene pipes. He explained that by the end of the current year [20 March 1993] 10 more units will have been given the seal of standards approval.

The supervisor of the Khorasan Standards and Industrial Research Office mentioned numerous inspections to equip and develop the laboratories in producing units and the indictment of units producing undesirable and unauthorized goods as this office's other activities in the first half of the current year [21 Mar-22 Sep 1992].

In view of the arrival of International Standards Day and International Standards Week, to raise the quality of goods produced in the province of Khorasan, he emphasized and noted that the failure to observe standards regulations by the producing units will result in their removal from the field of production.

Sirjan Free Zone Open to Foreign Investment

93AS0107C Tehran ABRAR in Persian 4 Oct 92 p 2

[Text] The commercial zone of Sirjan will be leased to foreign investors for 35 years to build hotels, industries, commercial centers, and housing.

Engineer Mohammad Reza Yazdanpanah, the general manager of the Kerman Developmental Agency, affiliated with the city halls of that province, made this statement yesterday during a visit by reporters to that pavilion.

He said: The transfer of the above-mentioned land will be extended twice for 35 years if an agreement is reached again. Otherwise, the price of the facilities and equipment will be paid at the day's rate.

He emphasized that Iranian individuals can purchase the land on a final and 100-percent basis.

He also said: This agency, while encouraging investments, will pay careful attention to their choices, and their investments will be guaranteed.

Concerning the building of housing, he said: 100 hectares of land has been allocated to housing, of which so far 20 hectares have been transferred to applicants in two phases.

He mentioned the reasons for choosing this area as its close proximity to Bandar 'Abbas, the availability of water, electricity, natural gas, railroads, an airport, manpower, and abundant raw materials.

He also added: Considering the actions already taken and the building of warehouses, the implemental activities for the mass trade of goods will begin from the second part of next year.

Only 2 Percent of Ferdows Lands Under Cultivation

93AS0107E Tehran ABRAR in Persian 3 Oct 92 p 9

[Text] Ferdows. IRNA. Of the total of 2,200,000 hectares of land in the city of Ferdows, 69,000 hectares are cultivated.

Engineer 'Alizadeh, the head of the agricultural services center, in an interview with the correspondent of IRNA, mentioned the reason for this issue as the severe shortage of agricultural water and the decline in the level of the underground water in this city.

He said: The decrease in precipitation in this city has caused the decrease in dry farming land from 38,000 to 10,000 hectares.

He said: The important agricultural items of this city are wheat, barley, saffron, pomegranates, pistachio nuts, cotton, and fruit, and 44 percent of the people of this city make a living through agriculture.

Hamadan Nonoil Exports Detailed

93AS0148B Tehran SALAM in Persian 12 Oct 92 p 10

[Text] Hamadan—IRNA—781 tons of nonoil goods valued at \$640,000 have been exported through the Hamadan Customs Office during the current year.

Yesterday (Sunday), an official of the Hamadan Customs Office gave an interview to IRNA's correspondent. He said: The most important of these export items were sheep-gut sausage skins, raisins, enameled and ceramic containers, garlic and onions, which were exported to Europe and the nations of the Persian Gulf basin.

He said: During this period 253,000 tons of goods valued at 456 million rials were also released through this customs office.

Foundation for Oppressed To Create Airline

93AS0190F London KEYHAN in Persian 22 Oct 92 p 4

[Text] The Islamic regime of Tehran's Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans is seeking to compete with the Iran National Airline Company HOMA in passenger and freight transportation on the domestic and international flight network by creating an airline company.

Mosaddeqi, the foundation's deputy for transportation, recently announced that the foundation's airline company will be established with a capacity equal to that of the Iran National Airline Company, and that in the near future this company will begin transporting passengers and freight. The official did not give any details on where the Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans Airline Company would get the aircraft it needs or how it would obtain the capital necessary to procure the personnel, tools, and technical equipment it needs. He only told reporters that since the foundation's heavy

transportation division will be established soon, this step will be quite effective in the starting and developing of the nation's industrial projects. Elsewhere in his press conference, the Islamic regime's Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans deputy for transportation affairs told reporters that this foundation is also seeking to create a worldwide international service to carry freight from various countries to Iran and back. The official added: Currently the Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans has 42 ships, 39 of which are leased.

During his press conference Mosaddeqi discussed the fact that the ships belonging to the Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans are operating on three regular routes in the Far East, in the Atlantic Ocean, and in Europe. He said: The total weight of goods, which are carried annually on the foundation's regular and irregular routes, is 3.2 million tons. He added: The total freight carried in the first six months of the current year increased 25 percent over the same period last year.

Foreign Loans Obtained To Buy Ships

In part of his press conference, the Islamic regime's Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans deputy for transportation affairs announced for the first time that this company, using foreign loans, had so far purchased three ships for \$10 million. Continuing, the official said: Based on a contract signed with the naval forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this foundation, using vessels belonging to the Navy, will soon begin transporting passengers from the southern ports to the Persian Gulf nations.

The Islamic regime's Foundation for the Oppressed and War Veterans, which has expanded its business and commercial activities in the last few years by making use of capital belonging to the people and by using extensive and uncounted resources belonging to various government organizations, is now operating in an uncontested field without competition in all money-making areas, from the sale of crude oil on the international dollar market for this energy-creating substance to the assembly of automobiles, importing chickens and meat from abroad, buying arms from various parts of the world, importing medical implements and drugs, importing fruit and other consumer goods, producing and exporting hand-woven carpets, house construction, renting housing units and numerous other activities.

International experts on economic affairs have called the Foundation for the Oppressed the "largest and most powerful commercial, business, and employment foundation" in the Islamic Republic, and they believe that the leaders of this money-making organization, relying on their strong political position within the unregulated Islamic regime, are seeking more than ever to increase the volume of their cash and inflated wealth in the form of a "financial procurement fund for the future of the regime's officials."

Issuance of Building Permits for Deedless Land

93AS0192F London KEYHAN in Persian 12 Nov 92 p 4

[Text] In order to prevent a repeat of the rioting of the people inside and on the outskirts of the cities, the Islamic regime had the regulations concerning the issuance of building permits for lands that have no official deeds ratified by the Supreme Administrative Council. In accordance with these regulations, from the first of next Azar [22 Nov-21 Dec], those who claim ownership of land and who have a valid normal deed may obtain building permits from city halls, provided they guarantee that they will be responsible for any legal problems.

Rasul Zargar, the interior deputy minister for coordinating developmental affairs, some time ago took part in a press conference and said to reporters that the goal of offering various plans is for city halls to carry out their legal duty to prevent illegal and uncontrolled building by eliminating the grounds for violations and offering the necessary facilities to needy citizens so that they would not have to resort to violations to get housing.

Emphasizing that the issuance of building permits does not mean ownership, he said: "We believe that dealing with a small number of profiteers, opportunists, and violators requires special methods, and the necessary legislative bill to deal with them has been prepared. The first of these plans is the exemption of building violations up to 50 square meters prior to 1/1/66 [21 Mar 1987]." Simultaneous with the announcement of the issuance of building permits, MEED weekly, published in London, published a report entitled, "The Issue of Housing in Iran Has Reached a Crisis," considered the recent riots of the people in various parts of Iran against the regime the result of numerous problems faced by urban residents with regard to housing and shelter. The above-mentioned weekly pointed out in its report that the riots in the past few months are considered the inevitable results of the mushrooming of cities and the rush of villagers to urban areas. MEED wrote that half of Tehran today is the result of the illegal possession of land by revolutionaries since 1979. In east Tehran, some cities have been erected by poor, homeless people overnight, and their residents, after building homes and shelters, forced the City Hall and other service organizations to provide them with water, electricity, and other needs. In Karaj, located 40 km from Tehran, with a population of 100,000 before the revolution, in less than 13 years increased to 4 million people. Some towns have become known as "Zurabad" [forced town], and one in south Tehran is known as "Yaftabad" [found town]. The weekly added: "Yaftabad is a large area that was created around the poor villages before the revolution, and its inhabitants are poor shop keepers, craftsmen, and workers." MEED, quoting a resident in the region, wrote: "My family of 10 persons lives in one room, and the City Hall is asking 300,000 rials to issue a permit to build one additional room."

The MEED analyst added at the end of his report: "Considering the escalation of the housing crisis in the

Iranian cities, very high inflation and unemployment, it seems that the war between the city halls and the poor people will continue indefinitely."

Tons of Potatoes Discarded for Lack of Silos

93AS0192E London KEYHAN in Persian 12 Nov 92 p 4

[Text] Dr. Kalantari, the minister of agriculture of the Islamic Republic, told reporters: Because of a lack of storage, 50,000 tons of potatoes purchased from farmers were destroyed. Kalantari said: One of the disadvantages of not having silos to store this item is that annually 5 billion rials are spent on transportation of grains among silos in various cities, and at the present we are forced to keep 1 million kg of wheat out in the open air. Mohammad Hasan Teyrani, the director general of the National Grain Agency, also said in this seminar: The National Grain Agency has a capacity of 2.6 million tons.

Industrial Towns To Provide Jobs, Reduce Pollution

93AS0148D Tehran SALAM in Persian 10 Oct 92 p 11

[Text] Qom—SALAM Correspondent—The primary goal in the construction of the industrial towns, in addition to the transfer of these types of polluting centers outside the cities, is to prevent the unbridled growth of false employment.

Engineer Ne'matzadeh, minister of industries, who had gone to Qom to launch construction operations on an industrial town in the Solfchegan area, while discussing the above, said: The Industrial Companies Construction Company began operating in the year 1363 [21 Mar 1984-20 Mar 1985] with Majles approval, and so far it has built 142 towns in this regard throughout the country, and in 42 cases the lands desired have been assigned to applicants, and the lands for 80 industrial units are being assigned.

At these ceremonies, likewise Mr. Khalilian, governor of Qom, said in a speech: This town has been planned for construction to prevent the operation of industries that pollute urban air and also to centralize all the small industries in a specific place to promote more utilization and greater production. It has a capacity of 400 industrial units, and under this same program, two more industrial towns will also be built in Qom.

Based on the same report, the minister of industries answered a question from our correspondent concerning how the bank facilities that have been created will be assigned to those who have signed contracts with the Industrial Companies Construction Company for the transfer of land and resources. He said: The contracts between applicants and the Industrial Companies Construction Company are legally binding and they can use them to apply for the necessary credit and bank loans, and the necessary coordination in this regard has been done.

The ground breaking to build this town took place on a 600-hectare site and was attended by Majles deputies, the governor and a group of officials from organizations and government groups.

Official Details Metals Industry Activities

93AS0148C Tehran SALAM in Persian 10 Oct 92 p 4

[Text] Banki, deputy minister of mines and metals for steel, who is now in Japan to attend the 26th meeting of the International Iron and Steel Institute, announced:

Because last year Iran succeeded in producing more than 2 million tons of raw steel, this year it was selected for official membership in the International Iron and Steel Institute on 12 Mehr [4 Oct].

Banki discussed Iran's striking successes in raising production and the quality of its steel industry products. He said: In the year 1370 [21 Mar 1991- 20 Mar 1992] steel production grew 50 percent compared to the year 1369 [21 Mar 1990-20 Mar 1991], while in the year 1369 this figure grew 19 percent compared to the year 1368 [21 Mar 1989-20 March 1990].

He added: In the first six months of the current year 1371 [21 Mar-22 September 1992] steel production grew 33.7 percent compared to the same period last year, and this is the largest growth among the steel-producing nations.

Banki said: In the year 1368 the Islamic Republic produced 1.15 million tons of raw steel, 1.58 million tons in 1369, and 2.42 million tons in the year 1370.

He added: In the year 1368 Iran extracted 1.68 million tons of iron ore, and this figure increased to 2.8 million tons in 1369, and 3.3 million tons in the year 1370.

With regard to the production and collection of iron ore, which is necessary for the production of steel, he announced that in the year 1369 Iran produced 1.15 tons and 1.94 million tons in 1370.

He noted: Fortunately, Iran's steel production made its way to international markets in the year 1371, and 20,000 tons of steel were exported as a single product, and also this year we have contracts to export 107,000 tons, and our partners are Italian, German, English, and Chinese companies.

He said: To increase exports, the nation's infrastructure problems in the areas of transportation and ports must be solved, and along with that the quality of production must be increased and the cost of production must be decreased as much as possible.

Banki said that the nation's major steel manufacturing projects are the Gol Gohar Iron Ore Extraction project, the Chadoromlu Mine, and the Yazd Steel Alloy Project.

He added: Soon the iron ores from Gol Gohar will be sent to supply the Esfahan Mobarakeh Steel Complex,

and in the not-too-distant future the huge 400-million-ton Chadoromlu Mine will go into operation.

Nation's 29th Medical College Inaugurated

93AS0149E Tehran SALAM in Persian 10 Oct 92 p 11

[Text] Sari. SALAM correspondent. With the inauguration of the Gorgan Medical College, the number of medical colleges in the country reached 29. According to our correspondent, this statement was made by Dr. Khaleqnezhad, the director of the Medical Science University of Mazandaran, in ceremonies marking the start of the academic year and celebrating the graduates of the Medical Science University of Mazandaran. He said: Before the revolution, we had six or seven medical colleges in the country; however, with the opening of the Gorgan Medical College, which began admitting students this year, the number of medical colleges in the country reached 29. In the continuation of these ceremonies, Dr. Mehdi Sharif, the vice president for academic affairs of the university, said concerning the educational situation: The number of students in the Medical Science University of Mazandaran is 2,469, of which 820 are studying in the night school.

In the continuation, Hojjat ol-Eslam Soleymani, the representative of the religious guardian in the Mazandaran universities, spoke about the Islamic culture, morality, and behavior of the students in addition to their scientific achievements. In conclusion, commemoration plaques were handed out to graduates, and the distinguished students were awarded prizes.

According to this report, during these ceremonies, Ladan Khodabadi, Mansureh Faramarzi, and Sara Dasti were chosen as outstanding members of the midwifery field. Also, Tanhan Dardi-Rahmaninasab, Seyyed Soheyl Hoseyni, and Qoli Hajian were chosen as outstanding members of the nursing field in Gorgan. In the field of environmental health of Sari, Kaveh 'Alinezhad, Ramin Arjmand, and Ahmad Salehi were chosen, respectively, as outstanding.

Construction of 24 New Cities Planned

93AS0107A Tehran ABRAR in Persian 4 Oct 92 p 3

[Text] Tehran, IRNA. Simultaneous with Human Settlement Week and the presence of Nateq-Nuri, the speaker of the Majles; Kazeruni, the minister of housing and urban development; and several Majles deputies and National Housing and Urban Development officials yesterday morning (Saturday), attended a seminar on modern city problems and an exhibition on land preparation projects were inaugurated.

In the opening ceremonies of this seminar, the speaker of the Majles said: One of the sectors in which the country must invest seriously is research and studies.

He added: In the area of housing, mass production must be supported and the necessary facilities, such as loans and providing land and materials, must be placed at the disposal of those persons or organizations that take charge of this affair.

In these ceremonies, Engineer Kazeruni, the minister of housing and urban development, also said: 24 new cities, the construction of which has been approved by the Supreme Urban Development Council, with a population capacity of 300,000 to 500,000 persons each will be built with the participation of the people.

He said: Thus far, land distribution in eight cities has been completed, and land distribution for 12 new cities is under way.

Eng. Kazeruni added: At the present time, 437 preparation projects are under way on 30,000 hectares of land throughout the country, and in the past year 146,000 plots of land have been transferred to the people for building housing units through the preparation project.

Along with this seminar, which will continue for three days, the sixth exhibition of land preparation projects will be held.

Wheat Cultivated on 70 Percent of Ilam Lands

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[Text] Ilam. IRNA. In the direction of implementing the central wheat project in the province of Ilam, more than 70 percent of the irrigated land was cultivated with wheat in the 1370-71 [21 Mar 1991-20 Mar 1993] agricultural year.

Engineer Khatmima'ab, the director general of agriculture of the province of Ilam, who made this announcement in a coordinating meeting of the heads of the agricultural services centers in the province in the city of Darrehshahr, said: With the unceasing efforts of the experts and the proper implementation of educational classes and the timely distribution by the agricultural institutions, the wheat output reached from 1,660 kg per hectare prior to the implementation of the central project to 4,430 kg in the current agricultural year.

He said: This project was implemented on more than 13 hectares in Dehloran, Darrehshahr, Ilam, Mehran, and Shiravan-e Chard-e Avval, and more than 50,000 tons of wheat was produced.

In this session, the head of the agricultural services of the city of Darrehshahr also presented a report on the future projects of this office and said: For the first time, in order to produce oil seed, peanuts will be cultivated next year on a promotional basis in this city.